



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

July 07, 2008

MR. WILLIAM MAXWELL
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
608 SOUTH WRIGHT STREET
URBANA, IL 61801

Subject: PICKENS, WILLIAM

FOIPA No. 1109952- 000

Dear Mr. Maxwell:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

☒ (b)(1)

☒ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(3) _____

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(5)

☒ (b)(6)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (b)(8)

☐ (b)(9)

Section 552a

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (j)(2)

☐ (k)(1)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (k)(4)

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☐ (k)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

247 page(s) were reviewed and 247 page(s) are being released.

☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.

☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown,

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (140-0)(RUC)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM PICKENS
SGE

DATE: 5/17/64

On 4/28/64, [redacted] [redacted] Roxbury, Mass., provided material which belonged to [redacted] WILLIAM EDWARD HARRISON, who died recently. [redacted] stated that she desired to cooperate with the FBI and turned over this material for review in order that electrostat copies be made before it was returned as she intended to write a book about HARRISON and would use some of the material. A review of the numerous documents revealed that the majority of the material was innocuous and personal.

b6
b7C

However, during this review one letter was located which was addressed to WILLIAM EDWARD HARRISON from WILLIAM PICKENS, Savings Bonds Division, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington 25, D.C., and dated 4/17/48.

In this letter PICKENS mentions that he will visit the World Fellowship Camp in New Hampshire, (characterization attached).

HERBERT PHILBRICK, who testified on behalf of the Government in the trial of the U.S. vs. CP, USA, leaders on trial in New York City in 1949, named HARRISON before public hearings of the HCUA on 7/23/51, Washington, D.C., as a CP member.

It is not known if PICKENS is still employed by the U.S. Treasury Department and, therefore, this matter is being forwarded to you for whatever action you may desire to take.

Boston indices reflect nothing identifiable with PICKENS because of the lack of identifying data concerning him.

An electrostat copy of the letter is attached for the Bureau and WFO.

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
2-Boston (140-0)
(1-100-13336)

RHB/hw
(6)

121 4978

49 MAY 14 1964

64 JUN 9 1964

Best Available
Copy

WILLIAM PICKENS
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 17, 1948---

Mr. William Harrison,
Associate Editor,
The Boston Chronicle,
794 Tremont Street,

Boston 18, Mass.

Dear Mr. Harrison:-

I am glad that my letter reached you. Thank you for your prompt reply dated May 13th.

What I had in mind on writing you, was the plan which we had in mind, or at least broached between us, when I first came to the Treasury here, 1941.

I think that, with your aid and suggestion, and a bit of your time, we can now soon carry that plan through: To enlarge the book, or to make a successor book to that sketch.

I want to talk it over with you some time, even if I must send for you when I am to be in N.Y. City, or wait and see you when next I am in Boston (certainly in summer on my way up to World Fellowship Camp in New Hampshire). I have no doubt that we can get together on it, if you find the time.

I am sure I can always reach you at the Boston Chronicle. I haven't heard from you in so long, although I had often talked with other about you and about your suggestion of 7 years ago, that was not certain when I wrote the other week. Methinks I was still with the Chronicle.

Excuse my poor typing: my Secretary is out to lunch. This is personal anyway.

Shall I let you know when I find we can surely get face-to-face again?

Very truly yours,

W. P. Pickens
W. P. Pickens

121-4978-49
ENCLOSURE

when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", followed by a stylized flourish or number "3".

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

The enclosed documents were located on microfilm and are the best available copies.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute(A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could be reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could be reasonably expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "H"

A USELESS AND EXCUSELESS RIOT

By William Pickens

As I write I am in New York City. The riot, started by Negroes last night is still on, but seems smoldering towards its end. The Negroes did all the rioting, practically unopposed, except in a few instances where the police interfered.

It was not a race riot, white people were not attacked. It was just a Negro's riot. Stores and shops were broken into and goods of all kinds were taken and carried out. It was a looter's holiday. Groceries, meats, vegetables, shoes, clothes, fur coats, everything from the drug stores except the bad medicines. - In the part of the town where I watched the riot, the police, evidently at the suggestion of the Mayor, were firing blank cartridges or firing into the air. The Mayor, perhaps intended to leave the burden on the Negroes this time and not to help their leaders to shout and publish all over the nation that the police killed the Negroes - even though these Negroes were doing the things for which people are supposed to be killed in all riots - making a wholesale attack on everybody's property, with the great threat of fire and death-violence.

The rioting started at 125th Street early Sunday night and ranged on uptown to 145th Street before morning light. They smashed glass and doors and gates; they stole liquor and canned goods and cleaned out the "cleaning shops." They carted the stuff off in bundles and baskets and parcels. Two young women even called a taxi because their loot was too burdensome to carry. One hardware store on Eighth Avenue, between 139th and 140th Streets, run by a Russian Jew who has been friendly and very helpful to the Negro population for about twenty years, was entered and plundered like all the others.

And what was the cause of all this? Of course, Mr. Sociologist will want to direct us way back into former generations for the cause, telling us that it began with the slave drivers, and that it has been growing stronger with every instance of race rioting and anti-Negro activities for the last eighty years. But that is too far back for present purposes. All crimes, sins, and weaknesses may be "explained" in that way. If the judge in court had to consider all the causes since Adam, which causes produced the mind of the criminal before him, the judge never could condemn anybody and could never get to the second case on the docket. In one sense everything has an adequate cause, even the causes themselves have causes behind them. Murder and executions, laws and mobs are all products of nature. But in practical living we have to begin at some tangible and reasonable thing and place.

A Useless & Senseless Riot
William Pickens
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Therefore, we go no farther back than the "occasion" which set off this robbing and thieving. These people were the hoodlums of the New York Negro people. They had thievery in their bones, perhaps from Cain. But in a magistrate's court, or in the Supreme Court, they can be dealt with only on the more recent evidence, the thing that caused them to turn savage and wreck four or five millions of dollars worth of property and to set us all back many millions of days and hours. That thing does not justify the rioting. A Negro Military Policeman was shot through the shoulder by a city policeman (incidentally, of the white race) in a dingy hotel lobby on 125th Street, near 8th Avenue.

But why and how? That Negro M. P. had attacked the policeman, knocked him down with the stick which he had taken from the policeman, and was running away when winged. You see, Uncle Sam's soldiers are being ruined by the many rotten women whom they contact in some hotels, and this policeman had been placed in the lobby of this hotel many weeks ago to help save the boys. On this Sunday he stopped a green Negro soldier coming in with a prostitute of another race because the policeman knew what was in store for the soldier. The Negroes gathered around and the M. P., from New Jersey, came in to show his authority, as if he did not know that a military policeman in New York City, so long as it is not under military rule, has no authority over the city police.

A fight was started, the Negro knocking down the policeman, who then shot at his assailant, who knew he was in the wrong, was trying to run away. Well, what would you have done? I know what I would have done. But Negro mobs are no better than white mobs. They began to lie, all that sixth column stuff - a poor Negro soldier had been "killed" by a policeman (the Negro only having been wounded in the shoulder), because the poor boy was simply trying to protect his own mother, etc., etc., the usual lies that are told when mobs want to justify their savagery.

The white policeman, hurt by this Negro M. P., was taken to the same hospital with the Negro, but after a mob of three thousand or more gathered around the hospital, the Negro was removed to another hospital under arrest, as ought to have been.

This was not a race riot, but it had a race element in it, for these mob hoodlums passed by some Negro shops, especially if they were labeled "Colored Man's Store" or if they bore the Father Divine label of "PEACE." Negro mob action looks no better to me than white mob action, whichever way you turn it, and I have been fighting mob action for the last forty years, and will continue to fight it. Negro soldiers are not always being treated right in this country, but even the Negro soldier is not always blameless.

A Useless & Excuseless Riot
William Pickens
Page 3

They used to tell us that it was all "economic." That is what they said when, eight years ago, a similar rioting in Harlem by Negroes and white sympathizers with Negroes, took place. The occasion at that time was that a Negro child had been caught stealing from a ten-cent store counter and had been perhaps untactfully handled by the store policeman and taken out, but had not been hurt. News spread that the child had been killed, just as it was said last night that the Negro M. P. had been killed. Then (1935) the Negro leaders told us that it was all due to the "depression," that "no work" and "unfair relief treatment" of colored people was the cause. That bunk will not explain last night's rumpus. There is no depression. There is plenty of work for all who want to work, and no "relief" business at all.

We must, as Americans, talk plain when either white people or black people are at the wrong end. The Mayor did not want it said that the police department of New York had discriminated against Negroes and therefore they were for the first night allowed to run away almost unmolested, by the many thousands. It was a rascal's paradise.

This morning on Seventh Avenue at 134th Street I passed a delicatessen, and a Negro crowd was emptying it of its goods, at 11:00 o'clock. They had put small children inside to hand out the stuff through the broken window glass. The police strolled by in their bullet-proof metal hats and did not even look at it. Later, when I returned that way, the crowd had been dispersed and five policemen were standing guard.

The Mayor has said that there will be a curfew tonight (Monday night) and that if there is not order and quiet and civilization, he means to turn on the heat.

I hear that six people have been killed - all Negroes, of course; but not because they were Negroes, but because they were looters, and only Negroes were looting. When things happen against colored people or colored soldiers, it is not safe to make an automatic outcry about injustice and oppression. It is best to find out what is back of it. Sometimes there is a Negro back of it.

So, Herr Hitler, this New York foolishness is another score for you, without cost to you. It did more to New York than many of your bombs might have done. But you are going to lose this war, if you expect the American Negro to help you to win it. He has some bad people in his country, but he does not want any worse people here.

- William Pickens

Best Available Copy

ANTI-ALIEN AND ANTI-MINORITY LEGISLATION

By William Pickens

(Emergency Committee Mass Meeting
Plaza Hall, Brooklyn, July 25, 1939)

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "G"

American democracy goes out wherever pure class legislation steps in. And legislation to oppress or to handicap minorities reverses the direction of our democratic policy: for our constitution and most of our laws have been framed upon the premise that the minorities, the weaker portions of our society, are the elements needing favorable legislation. The majority rules, not as a tyrant, but in co-operation with the minority, or the minorities. Our national constitution is really the body of rules setting limits against the majority in its control of minorities, and even of individual citizens.

Our post-World War trend has been somewhat against this fundamental Americanism. Our contacts in that war made us more afraid of our freedom, of our ideas of equality, of our open door. Altho during 300 years we had been made up chiefly out of the peoples of Europe and of Africa, we now almost closed the door against all of them. Very few, if any of us, would have been against the wisdom of placing some guardship over that door, for our frontier of territory was vanishing and we could no longer absorb and advance an unlimited number of workers.

But that limitation on immigration should never have been permitted to generate any idea that there should be any lack of equality before the law of any of those who occupy our country, of whatever race or of whatever source of immigration here. What difference of merit can there be between the workers who came in the 18th and 19th centuries and those who have advanced in the 20th century?

I think that there is something in the genius of our constitution that it was made for the protection of the minorities. There is a reason for the protection of the minorities, and that is the protection of the majority.

#2 - Anti-Alien Legislation

minorities is the only sure protection of the rights of the majority. Laws and regulations oppressing the weak have always managed the strong. If the right of an alien-born inhabitant to pursue life, liberty and happiness here is limited, the same right of the native-born is questioned and threatened.

Certainly we ought to learn the lessons taught by our own native-grown minority problems: I notice that the great majority of those bills in our present congress, threatening the freedom and equality of the foreign-born and the politically exotic, are bills introduced by southern representatives,-- by representatives who are a minority in the Congress and who represent a part of the country that is a still smaller minority of the whole country. Why? Because that section of our country has for 100 years had a minority problem which they have dealt with in just that bungling way, and of which they have made our greatest national mass. Statesmen who have learned to oppress a people because of race or poverty or origin, are the least competent people to set the pace for us in dealing with our foreign-born and political minorities.-- I myself am a southerner, but that observation is compelling.

Because of our limitation on immigration for many years now, our alien population must be relatively smaller than it has perhaps ever been in our national history. There is now no excuse for any repressive legislation, hampering these people's right to work, or speak or move about freely. The accidentally created and artificially maintained "race problem" of our South is really the South's greatest handicap. We do not want to copy those old and tragic mistakes.

The psychology of our people is important; the manner we permit aliens to register or to limit their speech or their right of assembly, protest, or to act with less political privilege, in that manner we will

...is a class in our midst and a troublesome group problem. If ... must however, to say nothing of the an- ... have become citizens.

...in order to get work, citizens must show ... they are not aliens, when citizens seek work. ... are forbidden to join anything but the Republican and the ... that is undoubtedly a great reflection against the honor ... of all native-born citizens who choose to belong to other

... be expected for certain opinions, political, social ... opinions, that is a slap in the face to all citizens who hold ...

... to have a democratic government and a free society, the ... must be made an exception of.

... when we begin to grade the privileges of our people on ... religion, or what-not, we immediately play ... of the anti-democratic forces that really want to establish ... of government and society in the place of what we have here. ... really want to divide and conquer us, do not care much on what ... divide.

Today, after more than 150 years in the pursuit of democracy, Amer- ... of America, is the best place in the world in which ... and women. Any successful effort to legally classify us ... or to lessen that democracy in law, will lessen that human ...

In a world and age where some great nations have turned back to the ... of the middle ages or the jungle tyranny of primitive man, it is ... easy for our great nation to keep on the road toward freedom and equality

4 - Antislavery Legislation

(70)

for the people, and to keep its respect for the individual personality. —
and it is the direction toward which we should direct our efforts.

William Pickens

W.P.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "J"

Mr. Adams: Q. Mr. Pickens, what we want to talk to you about, you probably have guessed, is the Dies Committee Report.

Mr. Pickens: A. I have an idea, but I do not know.

Mr. Adams: Probably the best way to proceed would be for Mr. Jordan to go back to his original report and check with you the list that the Dies Committee states you are connected with. He also had at that time a list of law suits which you wrote him a letter about.

Mr. Pickens: A. I know I wrote him a letter.

Mr. Adams: You wrote him a letter saying that you were not the William Pickens included in this list.

Mr. Pickens: A. I was not the William Pickens. I never had a lawsuit in my life.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember my first interview on September 30, 1941?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember very well. I do not remember the date.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember a list of certain organizations of which you were a member and for which you spoke?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember that you had such a list. I do not remember the organizations, or what I said.

Mr. Jordan: A. Here is a copy of that list. I am going over this fully. Did you at that time deny making the speeches referred to in that list.

Mr. Pickens: A. I spoke several times at public rallies at the Manhattan Center December 1, 1940.

Mr. Jordan: Q. In connection with this rally, to what extent did you participate?

Mr. Pickens: A. Just a speaker. I was down there and naturally someone asked me to come and speak.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You delivered one speech?

Mr. Pickens: A. That's all.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member?

Mr. Pickens: A. Not at all. Just invited as a speaker because I was to Spain.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the New York Tom Mooney Committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know. I know I was interested in Tom Mooney for about 20 years. That was not a political case. I do not think I ever met Tom Mooney. I never helped to organize, or be a member. I sponsored something for him.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Then you were not a member of the Tom Mooney Committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. No.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that the Tom Mooney Committee is made up of Communists?

Mr. Pickens: A. No I did not know that it was made up mostly of Communists.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Third is the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights. You are listed as a sponsor.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know about that. It must have been back....
I do not know much about the organization.

Mr. Jordan: Q. The fourth one is an appeal on behalf of Sam Darcy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember that name but nothing else about it.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Did you sign the statement which was in the "Daily Worker" dated December 19, 1940, urging the release of Sam Darcy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not remember signing a statement.

Mr. Adams: Q. Sam Darcy, as I understand it, was purported to be a Communist with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. I do not recall Darcy. I do not remember that.

Mr. Adams: Q. If anybody came along and asked you to sign anything or make a speech, did you ever ask if they were Communistic?

Mr. Pickens: A. No I never did. My attitude toward Communists was indifferent.

Mr. Adams: Q. Then you never were as a matter of fact a Communist?

Mr. Pickens: A. I never was a Communist. I never thought of becoming a Communist.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe I was. I went to Spain in 1938, and saw ~~they~~ what was going on. I am not a member. I have not kept up anything since I gave my dollar. When I came back they asked me to tell them what I saw. I do not know the people there. I might have said something, I could not say.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you connected with the publication entitled "Fight?"

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I have not even read it. They might have published something of mine. They never paid me for saying anything.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Pickens: A. Not with my consent. They might have put me in without my consent.

Mr. Jordan: Q. ~~Were you a member of the Council for Pan-American Democracy?~~
Were you a member of the Council for Pan-American Democracy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was a member. I am not a member now. I was on the Executive Committee in 1936 or 1937.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you take any active part in the programs or organization?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe I ever spoke on their programs. I never quite agreed with the Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you contribute any articles or make speeches for these organizations?

Mr. Pickens: A. The Civil Liberties Union often helped us with cases. I worked with these people because they were helping the advancement of the colored people. Politics did not enter into it. I never pretended to be a Communist. They knew it.

Mr. Jordan: Q. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, you are listed as a sponsor?

Mr. Pickens: A. Some time ago, but I am not now.

Mr. Jordan: Q. On April 13, 1940, the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in a Citizens Rally, you are listed as a sponsor?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not deny that. I do not remember making a speech.

Mr. Adams: Q. Do you remember anything about this organization.

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I do not.

Mr. Jordan: Q. The New York Conference for Inalienable Rights, July 29, 1940, you were guest of honor. The notice appeared in the "Daily Worker."

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not read the "Daily Worker," so I never say anything there. I cannot say "yes" or "no". I go to so many things.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you a member of the American Friends of Spanish People?

Mr. Pickens: A. I went to Spain. When I came back I wanted to help those Spanish people. I do not deny that.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember contributing to the "New Masses" publication?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I do. I have written two or three articles.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the article, "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist?"

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I do remember that.

Mr. ^{Jordan} Adams: Q. You did make speeches against the poll tax?

Mr. Pickens: A. I did not make any speech against it, but I did make thousands of speeches and included it.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the United States Congress Against War?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I do not remember that.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I was when it first started.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you in that organization, or any organization, try to prohibit arms shipped to Europe?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I never did. All I was interested in was to get charity money for these people.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a signer of a letter to the President published in the "New Masses", published April 2, 1940.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know what the letter was about.

Mr. Adams: Q. It was to get one Mexican by the name of Constanta Lemana into this country.

Mr. Pickens: A. It was a woman in Mexico who was a leader of the Mexicans in Spain who wanted to come here.

Mr. Adams: Q. The woman was refused a visa.

Mr. Pickens: A. Of course, anybody could have asked the President.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that this person was a Communist?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I did not know ^{it} if I signed the letter. I might have signed it, but if she were a Communist, I would have said to keep them out. I was not signing things for Communists.

Mr. Jordan: Q. The Public Rally under auspices of the New York Chapter of the Spanish Aid Committee, you were listed as speaker?

Mr. Pickens: A. I guess that is the Committee I have in mind. When I came

back from Spain, whatever meeting they had, I would go to it if I could. If I was there I would be invited to speak.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you have any connection with that committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I was never a member.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Since your appointment to the War Savings Staff, what participation have you made in any other organization, either as a speaker or writer.

Mr. Pickens: A. I am a life member of the League for Industrial Democracies.

Mr. Jordan: Q. In other words, you remained a member only of the League for Industrial Democracies?

Mr. Pickens: A. I am a life member of that. I paid them \$100 for life membership.

Mr. Adams: Q. You are still a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I worked with them for over thirty years, but only for the advancement of the colored people.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you in sympathy with any programs the Communists promote?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe in anything they try to do. I have no political motives. I have been opposed to having Communists run this country. I am not interested in any of it; I am opposed to everything they do.

Mr. Adams: Q. Were you a member of the national committee of any labor defense?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, the International Labor Defense, when it first started. When I found that Communists were running the whole thing, I just quit. I joined it as a non-partisan organization to defend the laboring people, black or white.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did ~~you~~ you appear on a program with Marcantonio some time during the past two or three years?

Mr. Pickens: A. I guess about two or three years ago when they were having some sort of a meeting down there I spoke with Mrs. Roosevelt. I told somebody he talked like a radical or a Communist. I think I spoke. It was not important. Nothing that I would particularly remember, except to tell my story about the Spanish people. I had no other interest.

MY JOURNEY TO AND FROM RUSSIA
IN 1927

by

William Pickens

In 1926, I did a hard year's work in the United States, raising for my organization over \$20,000.00 in "Baby Contests" alone, and many thousands more in membership campaigns. I was always a popular speaker on our Negro problem in the United States of America. The Quakers of England (Friends House on Euston Road) invited me to come to England and lecture in England and Scotland under the general direction of John Fletcher, leading English Quaker.

The organization for which I worked gave me a two months' leave and \$250.00 on my expenses. The rest of the estimated cost was made up by:

\$105.00 from Moorefield Storey, Great Boston law firm head
10.00 from each of a number of Negro Newspapers, arranged
for by Claude A. Bennett, editor of the Associated
Negro Press; many individuals and friends from
Seattle to the Atlantic; and the fees which the
Quakers of England were to charge against each
place where I should lecture.

I went and started my lectures by the end of November, in London; and spoke in all the principal cities of England and Scotland until near Christmas time.

The Quakers had missions in almost all foreign countries, and my lectures were to be suspended before Christmas and taken up again after Christmas. Russia was a most interesting question in this world in 1926-27, and knowing of my interest in social problems from my lectures among them, and having a mission in Moscow, Warsaw, and in Berlin, the

My Journey to and from Russia in 1937
William Pickens
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Quakers helped me to arrange a sort of "vacation" for the days of intermission in our lecture program, and wrote to their mission heads in Berlin, Moscow, and Warsaw, directing them to meet me and to prepare for any possible lectures and conferences and for my education through sightseeing.

I was duly met by the Quakers in Berlin, Warsaw, and Moscow. In Berlin they arranged for me to speak on my return in the Herren House (upper chamber of the Prussian legislature) and an audience of a thousand Germans greeted me when I returned from Moscow and Warsaw. Also, Warsaw arranged a meeting for my return, and a large audience of English-speaking Poles met me. I could speak German, but not Polish.

It was interesting in Moscow, where I was for about two weeks and was shown everything from dead Lenin and the Kremlin to Leon Trotsky and twenty-odd visiting Chinese "Generals", and was invited by some persons to let them show me to Stalin, who had just stepped up top, but I actually thought such little of it that I could not make the time mentioned convenient. I was too busy looking at Moscow, its churches, science schools, workers' clubs, boulevards, squares, etc. But I did get to call at Trotsky's office. He was then head of the very powerful "Concessions Commission." I am ashamed to confess that I ran out on him before he had got through talking with me, because I wanted to see an interesting Russian movie which was being put on especially so that some English people and I could see it. When I reached the movie place and announced that I had almost been made late by Trotsky, the Russians laughed, and an Englishman explained to me, "They are laughing because

My Journey to and from Russia in 1927

William Pickens
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most of them would crawl five miles on their hands and knees to get three minutes with Trotsky."

Trotsky was doubtless far more interested in seeing and talking to me than I was in seeing and talking to him. He never once mentioned politics, but spoke of his previous residence in the United States and showed intelligent interest in the American Negro. It was all instructive to me.

When I got back to England, via Warsaw and Berlin, our lectures were resumed. My record stated "about sixty lectures" before and after my visit to the Continent, thirty in each period. But since then, I have been told that there were seventy-two lectures in all.

The British were thrilled by our American message. I met members of the Parliament, spoke at a Bye-election for one of them (and he was elected, a new member, think).

In York, England, I heard the great Quaker, Rufus Jones, just returned from China and bound for his home in America, give a lecture on the Chinese, in which he confirmed my faith in the correctness of our "Hands off China" aims. He said that the Chinese farmers are the most honest and honorable people in this world, and that England and America and other powerful nations should at least refrain from repressing the Chinese uprising, for by repression, they would play into the hands of the Japanese. Just like me, he seemed to have no interest in the radical element in China, but in freedom for the Chinese people.

When I was through in England with one of the most interesting lectures experiences of all my career, I returned to the United States from a British port.

—William Pickens

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "B"

The only thing new about "Fascism" is its present name. As a process it is about as old in the world as is human government. Turning to Fascism is like turning back toward the primitive. Mississippi and South Carolina have within them all the elements of Fascism which can be found in Germany or Italy; but these states are parts of the United States and subject to its constitution, and their Fascism is held in check and modified by the less Fascist parts of the Republic.

In 1926 I went lecturing in Europe,-- England, Scotland, Germany, Poland Russia,-- and at that time kings and tyrants seemed definitely on the wane, and moving toward the exit. Besides the old democracies, such as Britain, France, Switzerland, there was popular government, or attempts at it, in Germany, Austria, Russia, China, and in many of the lesser states of central and southeastern Europe. All of the Western Hemisphere at the time was being run by democracies, of a sort, altho the ballots were often subordinated to bullets, as many of the chief executives shot their way into office and were in turn shot out of it again. But that we looked upon as the adolescence of democracy, feeling that all the world was going to be democratic in a generation or two. Kingdoms like Britain, Belgium and Holland might continue to have figure-head "monarchs" for a while, or indefinitely. Western Asia was discarding its veil and turban, and even Japan was loosening up.

*Now asked by the
New Yorker, but never published*

The League of Nations, which had been midwifed into existence by an American president, was flourishing at Geneva as a premise of International Democracy. Even the nations of the earth seemed about to agree to settle international arguments by votes instead of by cannon and bomb.-- The course of human history was just about set, and all that was left for us reformers "in those days" was to fight what we called Imperialism,-- the export of capital and the oppression of weaker subject peoples, by the European powers and the great Colossus of North America. England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Belgium still held large areas in Africa, and we wanted them to give the native people better economic opportunities and more local autonomy. In the Orient, India and China felt the mace of this imperialism, so that Orientals and Hindus were active in our crusades. The United States, with the vastest capital in human history, with war debts coming in, and supposed to keep coming in ad infinitum, was anxious to use this excess capital in Central America and in the West Indies, and make more capital. While Europe was at war, we had seized Haiti on a slimmer pretext than that on which Italy was later to seize Abyssinia, and Mussolini's son was not to have a more thrilling time dropping bombs on naked Ethiopians and their straw huts, than our marines had shooting Cacos and "bandit" patriots in Black Haiti, the second oldest republic of the Western Hemisphere.

Having jumped to the side of the underdog ever since I was a school boy, and having "fought, bled, died,-- and come away" from many such struggles, this looked like inviting adventure to me. So I joined with European friends, and with Roger Baldwin and others in America, in promoting "Anti-Imperialist Congresses", held in Europe. These were great and exceedingly democratic gatherings, to start with: Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Democrats, and people from the monarchist lands, and even some who, like myself, were independent

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of anybody's party, were equally welcomed. The ultimate triumph of political democracy seemed assured in the world, and all we had to do, was to look out for economic democracy, for the protection of workers, laborers and consumers against the profit-takers. Russia, whose leaders loomed large in these movements, was still an unrecognized outcast among the greater nations, but that would righten itself, with developments inside and outside of Russia.

By training and by temperament I am a democrat, believing in the compromise of the ballot after agitation and discussion, and having no favor for class warfare. Narrow discipline never suited me. Therefore, altho I could work toward these universal ends side by side with any humans, I could never become a member ~~of~~ of minority political parties, with the limitations implied. Some of the people with whom I worked, made the mistake of many,-- seeming to think that a man could not look upon "radicals" as being simply human beings, without being one of the radicals. From these I expected opposition, ignorant opposition. Soon I was to find also that with the radicals I was a "marked man", because I did not and could not agree with them in all things. Like Roger Baldwin I took the right which I accorded: the right to ~~disagree~~ disagree in any detail. When I got to the great Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1929, whither I had been urged to come and to deliver an address of 45 minutes, I found that plans had developed at the Congress to muzzle me, and other American leaders, and the great leader of the Independent British Labor Party,-- those of us who were on the program, but who did not belong to the ~~major~~ racial party, whose members seemed then in the saddle. Accordingly, when an audience of 15,000 was gathered to hear us, I had been advised by a Boston woman that a plot had been made to have the presiding officer to ring me down after I should have spoken about 10 minutes,-- and then to have an American Negro who was a party member to get up and take as much time as he pleased "tearing up" the speech which I may have made. Nobody knew at that time what I would say,-- but this was just a strategy for checking and killing off the non-elect.-- I therefore kept my counsel, resorted to a little strategy myself, and did not give my address to the army of translators until just before I was to speak, making it impossible for them to get an English copy to the man selected to criticize me. I had my speech in both German and English, and seeing so many Englishmen at the conference, I had decided to use the English version, but now switched back to the German, knowing that my critic knew not one word of German. This was fortunate in another way: when the vast audience, the great majority of whom were Germans, heard their mother tongue, they got so enthusiastic that when the Russian Chairman attempted to stop me after a few minutes, they shouted and threatened a riot,-- and I had to go on to the end of the 45 minutes talk. The joke was turned: the poor critic, seated behind me, did not know one word I had spoken, and had to get up and fill in his time as best he could, talking about whatever occurred to him.-- I never had had a more enthusiastic audience in my life, and even the conservative papers of the city, the "give-us-back-our-colonies" papers, gave faithful reports and invited me to visit their ~~and~~ offices.

With such backgrounds, and such temperament, there could be but one side for me in the present fight between people's government and Fascist dictatorships. The last time I was in Germany was just a few months before Von Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor. It was 1932, during one of Hitler's election efforts, in which he received

I-- Fight on Fascism--

a minority vote, as he ~~generally~~ always did, until he became dictator,-- dictator of elections as of everything else. We had always argued against the unjust treatment of Germany by the Allies,-- against the robbery of "reparations" and other tribute,-- and we had won over perhaps 80 per cent of the people of England and America to the side of Germany, under the republican government, before Hitler. But the attitudes and intransigence of the erstwhile "victorious" governments of the Allies toward the reasonable leaders of the new German state, made Hitler. It gave point to his beer-garden attacks against the mild and umbrella-carrying statesmanship of his country, which was being humiliated by the haughty victors; it got him at last the foolish vote of the younger generation, and of the women, when the Social Democrats had enfranchised in their republican state. The older women did not then dream that a Hitler triumph would kick them back into the kitchen; but perhaps the younger people have not yet learned anything from their mistake, for they now have no chance to learn anything outside of their regimented political and social education.

One need be only an American democrat to be able to take the right side, the people's side, in the Ethiopian crisis and in the Civil War in Spain. Last August I went to Barcelona, with the co-operation of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee, but at my own expense and risk,-- and in sympathy with the anti-Fascist forces. It was then clear to those how had eyes that Catalonia was on its last legs, unless those who should have been its best friends, should at once change their tactics, and lift their embargoes and open their "closed borders". But England seemed set against popular government in Spain; France had in follow England; and America just followed. This Spanish republic had come into existence a few years ago, in a most decent way, for a European country: They had let their king leave without beheading him, and allowed him to take much money with him.

These republican leaders, soldiers and heroes, with whom I talked in Barcelona in August,-- what has become of them now, with France in that city? Some are in prison, ~~many~~ many in dishonored graves, many more in exile. The city, built to accommodate a million, had nearly three million people in it at that time, mostly refugees. Barcelona,-- ancient port of Iberia,-- founded before the Roman Republic,-- refounded by Hannibal's father,-- survivor of Napoleonic vengeance,-- perhaps it will still survive, and its will to liberty.

In southern France, being a tolerated visitor, I argued with the younger Frenchmen that Spain should be helped to maintain its independence against Italy and France,-- in spite of the fact that Spain did not help France when the Germans attacked in 1914. I told them not to substitute sentiment or grudge for statesmanship; that real statesmanship looked forward, not backward; that the fact that Spain did not help France in a past crisis, should not be allowed to cause France to hurt its own future by a wrong course in the present crisis; that the present question was: What should France do today for the best good of France tomorrow? Another hostile Fascist border would not be good for France: Germany and Italy are enough.

When I got back to Paris, I flew to England, to sail from Southampton after a week's visit in England. I had entered England a number of times in previous years, but I now had a new experience with the

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Scotland Yard and the immigration officials. I had been to Spain, which seemed now to make them as nervous as it did twelve years before when one had "been to Moscow". I had gone to Spain on my regular American passport, from France, across the French border, and with all sanctions of the American State Department, the American Ambassador, the French police and the border officials. Frankly, that was none of Britain's business. They saw my numerous Spanish visas in my passport at the Air France office in Paris before we sailed; and no doubt they radiated ahead to Greydon Field, London, about it. Why did they not tackle you in Paris? Not only because Paris is in France, but because they want to get your money for flying you to London first,— and if they do happen to turn you back, they want to have your money first, going and coming. They did not turn me back, but they asked a lot of foolish questions, the most foolish questions I had ever been asked on entering any country: Why did you go to Spain,— How did you get those photographs,— Why do you carry a typewriter,— What are you going to leave in England,— When are you here to see,— What's this (as they dived into some editorial copies which I had written for the press). I answered in the fewest words, and: "Until my ship sails, the Aquitania",— and as to what I was going to leave,— "Money for my expenses", etc. The Scotland Yard man must have been amused himself, but he held his face, while the two Bobbies of the city police, who accompanied him, fairly doubled up with laughter, in a most un-British fashion.— When I saw that my unhesitating answers had about taken the wind out of his sails, I asked him one: "Are you through now?" to which he nodded slowly, almost reluctantly,— and I was allowed to take the waiting bus with the other passengers into the heart of the great metropolis.

This showed me clearly enough where official England was standing at the time, so far as Spain was concerned: with the dictator and against the people. Perhaps they were more afraid of the Spanish people than of Italy: the people would be likely to use Spain for its own people, rather than for the profiteers of commerce.

The fight to keep democracy in the United States, in the face of developing Fascism, should engage our devotion. We should determine to keep it in peace, if possible; but if necessary we should endeavor to keep it, even if by war. Constitutional government is especially made for the protection of minorities, against the natural power of majorities. Law is not so much needed for the immediate protection of the strong: good law takes more account of protecting the weak. The outlawing of any minority, economic, political, racial or religious, is an attack on all minorities. Jews and Negroes, Catholics and Agnostics, Socialists, Communists, and Independents, and all the organized worker groups, can take the same interest in such a fight,— without having to agree together about their differing political, religious and social aims. I believe in Democracy,— but in that democracy I include everybody, especially those who disagree with me.


William Pickens-----

4-1943.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "E"

MY ADVENTURE INTO SPAIN

For a month in the early spring of 1938, I did Government forums in Seattle, Washington; and then, at the invitation of Dr. Studebaker, Head of the Office of Education, I did two months, from mid-April to mid-May, in Forum for the Government in five counties around Columbia, South Carolina.

This gave me an extra bit of money, and as I had not crossed the Atlantic in six years, I decided to go to Europe - Paris, London, and maybe Denmark.

Negro friends in New York, who were intelligent and alive to the growing unrest in Europe, asked me if I would visit Spain, from which so much news was coming. I said that I would like to, as I had never been to Spain, but that my passport, long ago secured, was marked, "Not good for Spain."

That brought me my first information of a "Medical Bureau" which was sending ambulances and medical supplies to Spain, lawfully, and which, I was informed, could get me visa from our State Department, if I would agree to run down to Spain from Paris and see what was the situation and treatment of Negro boys of America, who were in the Spanish hospitals, etc.; because, these colored people of New York City, with a natural feeling against Italy, which had destroyed the last native government of Africa just three years before (1935), were interested in buying an ambulance to send to the anti-Italian side in Spain, the Loyalists. I said I would go if they got the visa. They seemed to admire my courage, inasmuch as Italians were flying from the Balearic Islands and bombing the Loyalist communities every few days.

But they failed to get the visa; my ship sailed, and a week or more later, I was notified over the telephone by our Ambassador's office in Paris, that our State Department had cabled him to visa me for Spain. Frankly, I was elated - at adventure and danger ahead.

After another week's patience, the French Gendarme and the Spanish consuls also agreed, - when they checked the whole matter. I had never met the people of the "Medical Bureau", except those intelligent colored people who wanted to send ambulances in honor of the colored boys fighting for democracy against Italy.

When I returned in September, they had a banquet (these colored citizens) to hear a report on what I had found in Spain. They were the best and highest type of American Negro citizens, and the banquet

My Adventure into Spain - 2

was presided over by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, top Negro official of our National Y. M. C. A., and member of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. on Madison Avenue, and the diners were from churches, social work organizations, and many other groups.

They had formed a "Negro Committee" to continue to work for Republicanism and Democracy in Spain. The head of the committee was Lester Granger (Executive Secretary for the National Urban League). Later, I was invited to join and joined, but had no opportunity or time to meet with them. Later, I resigned, when the white committee objected to the plans of the Negro committee to do the same thing for Finland, when it was attacked by Russia, as we wanted to do for Spain when attacked by Italy. (See Chairman Granger's letter and my suggestion that we resign in such case). I think he did so. I did so. There was nothing to compel us in this choice except our own democratic convictions. We all preferred Finland to Spain. (By accident, his letter to me and mine to him were found preserved in my files in New York, in February, 1943.)

At several meetings to aid the democracy side in Spain, I spoke, but dropped out of the "Rescue Ship" plans, by special resignation, when it took the turn of aiding Communist propaganda more than the democracy cause. Other good citizens, of both races, did the same, at the same time.

The Prestes Protest. The Council for Pan-American Democracy, at its own initiative, wrote to Mexico and got us over a mean hurdle: For many years colored Americans entering Mexico had to deposit five hundred dollars at the border (as in Laredo, Texas) and get it again when they came out. White Americans had to leave five hundred dollars for a Negro chauffeur, and if the chauffeur deserted in Mexico, their money was lost. This Council, headed by a Professor, who was a member of the faculty in one New York College, got this discrimination removed, got official word from the Mexican government, and on that word in writing, I had received permits for myself and two young Negro lawyers (S. R. Redmond and Robert Elzy) to go into Mexico in June, 1941 - when our plans were interfered with because the Treasury asked me to come in and help on the Defense Savings Staff in May, 1941.

Of course, I consented on invitation, to join "The Council" for such Pan-American Democratic cooperation, - they proclaiming their Council's desire to be a non-partisan organization, and knowing me to be a member of one of our old and conservative political parties.

Nobody in the council even said the word "radical" to me. I, however, found out that many of them were radicals by the simple fact that I was pro-British-French and they, while not pro-German, were always arguing that "there was no difference" between the British side and the German side, - a position which I impolitely told them sounded "idiotic" to me.

My Adventure into Spain - 3

I went a few times to their conferences and then quit absolutely, - because I lacked interest in the things which seemed to interest them.

They asked the Council members to sign a paper, which I read carefully, it seemed designed to save one, "Prestes" from probable murder in Brasil, - said paper being accompanied by a communication from a Mexican government official, asking that humane people show an interest and help to deter the murderers. Nothing was said of Prestes' politics, and the next time I saw his name (or heard it spoken) was in the Congressional Record, 1943. I have never been a reader of radical papers.

Ever since I was a little child of South Carolina and Arkansas, I had heard and read of the proud American boast of "the right of protest", and I had never been informed that such right of protest was to be reserved for those judged to be righteous or withheld from those suspected of being not right. And when a very young American black youth, I had read with a thrill where one of our great American presidents (of the 20th Century) had dignifiedly, but very firmly, protested to the head of a great foreign nation against its brutal treatment of one of its minorities - a Roosevelt to the Czar of Russia. At another time a president, I think, but at least our newspapers and people and pulpits protested in no uncertain meanings to the Turk over the Armenian. Some of this sort of Americanism, from my childhood and my youth, has always been in my bones.

I was Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., meeting all types of people, with our benevolent propaganda, - and we counted it gain when we could present our case for the American Negro to any groups of whites. Again, I received a paper, which I carefully read and which was a pattern with our own frequent requests for aid, for one Sam Darcy, who was not presented as a Communist, but for whom simple American justice seemed to be asked. I heard his name no more until 1943. I was never a reader of the Daily Worker, and usually saw a copy when somebody called my attention to some attack in it on me, or on the organization for which I worked, but on me in particular.

In 1939 and 1940, our country was in a great ferment as to our possible and ultimate relation to the Second World War. Many organizations were holding meetings and conducting lectures and discussions. They presented their requests to us for a "sponsorship", sometimes asking for a dollar, and sometimes saying "No obligations," etc. Most of them we turned down, always turning them down when we saw Communistic disguise. That is how my name perhaps got on the "sponsoring" roll for meetings, not for membership, for the three or four organizations of 1940 which were recalled to me again in 1943.

But (and I say this with all sincerity) I am not sure that I did actually sign for these three or four meetings, as the "Daily Worker" was the source from which my informant took his information, and as you

My Adventure into Spain - 4

will see from my exhibits, the "Daily Worker" had the habit of falsifying in such things. Once, they had me in Birmingham, Alabama, helping the "Capitalists" and "lynchers", as they put it, to coerce the Scottsboro boys into dropping their Communist lawyers and defenders, and into accepting what the I. L. D. and the "Daily Worker" called "Lynch Lawyers". At that time I had not been to Alabama for a year, when Roderick Bedow, great Alabama criminal lawyer and I had gone together to Libby Prison, near Montgomery, and had both pleaded with those boys to drop their Communist "defense" set-up, and accept a real Alabama law firm with Clarence Darrow as the out-of-state lawyer. And I was not to go to Alabama for a year or more after the "Daily Worker" lied me into the state in 1934.

That time, I, who had learned to hold my temper, was really angry enough to move to sue the "Daily Worker" for what I called a "Two-Thousand-Mile Lie" (See my exhibits). But Arthur Garfield Hayes, noted New York Attorney, advised me not to sue them unless I wanted to help them. His words (from my memory) were like these: "If you sue, you will put out money, and they will collect money, and they will proclaim to their followers that those same 'lynch lawyers' have put you up to it. You will win the suit but you will find that they did not even own the desk on which the lie was written."

So, I contented myself by writing that the I. L. D. and the "Daily Worker" had told a "Two-Thousand-Mile Lie," - a scathing article, here in the exhibits, which was read by one million Negroes, who read my editorials each week (by estimate of Claude A. Barnett, Editor of the Associated Negro Press).

That is why, Gentlemen, I honestly doubt whether I really signed for as many as the three or four meetings out of the dozens presented to us in 1940, - because the honest investigator read some of the evidence from the "Daily Worker". That paper had me in Birmingham, Alabama, when the railroad ticket agent told me that New York, where I actually was at the time, is 1016 miles from Birmingham. (Two thousand and thirty-two miles distant, there and back). "The Daily Worker" also had me in Brussels, Belgium, when I never even heard that they had me there until I heard it from our Congress in 1943. Much of this paper's evidence is undoubtedly false, - and I could doubt any of it.

Respectfully submitted,

William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "D"

THE WORLD PEOPLE CONGRESS AGAINST IMPERIALISM
WILLIAM PICKENS.

O.K.
File

The Congress assembled in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, July 22, 1929. There were about 500 delegates from all over the world, and they were greeted by an audience of over 4,000 people. The Congress proper lasted for one week. There had been preliminary conferences of important committees.

Also a pre-Congress conference had been held in London, England, on July 17th and 18th, a meeting of British and American anti-imperialist minds, - conference organized under the leadership of The People's Lobby, of the United States. Among the American representatives at the London conference were Ben Marsh, of The People's Lobby; Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Mrs. Gilman, of Baltimore; and William Pickens, of the N.A.A.S.P. Among the British speakers were Fanner Broadway, Member of Parliament; and Mr. Brailsford, and many others.

The World Congress, originally scheduled for Paris, was transferred to Frankfurt, it was reported, because France refused visas for delegates from North Africa and Russia.

All sections of the world and all races were represented at the Congress: North America, Latin-America, the West Indies; East, West, North and North Africa; the East Indies and Indonesia; and nearly every section of Europe and Asia. The Chinese had the largest racial delegation, numbering about 60. There were 7 Negroes; 4 from the United States (two via Russia); 1 from Hayti; 1 from French North Africa; 1 from Kenya (British East Africa). Other parts of Africa were represented by whites, - Belgians, Englishmen, etc.

There were many addresses, and some informal, very instructive reports, showing the abuses of foreign capital in weaker countries, especially in Latin-America, Africa and China.

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The Communists were evidently, perhaps a bit too obviously, in control of the general machinery and leading policies of the Congress. There were many influential non-Communists, like Louis Martin. Among several of the American delegates, like Roger Baldwin and William L. Dawson, and some of the representatives of India.

The most important action of the Congress deserving the attention of Americans, was the decision to call to meet in Europe in 1950 a "World Congress of Negro Workers." It will be called to meet in London, if the British government will guarantee visas for African delegates and will hold which is not likely. If the Congress is not held in London, it will be held to hold it in Berlin. If the Congress is held in London, the Communists hope to bring before the very eyes of the British government a great demonstration of dissatisfied Negroes from all parts of the British Empire. If it cannot be held in London, they hope to use that fact to embarrass the Labor Government, or whatever British government is then in power, and to increase the publicity for a greater meeting in Berlin. For the Communists it is a game of "Heads--I win! Tails--you lose."

Judging Communist tactics for the future by their past, makes it clear that this Negro Congress will embody a drive not only against the imperialist and nationalist oppression of Negroes, but also a drive to align Negro workers with the Communist political party. Of that there can be no doubt.

All the more important is it that there should be Negroes in this Congress who have influence and who are not Communists. Such a congress is likely to have a large influence on liberal and open-minded people in all the great nations. Most of the delegates, even from the United States, will be Communists or directly under Communist influence. Even the wisest Communist leaders must realize that such a show of party alignment and party propaganda would not react to the advantage of Negroes in America or elsewhere in the world.

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But whether we are there or absent, we will share in whatever influences are there released. We should be there and understand, - and undertake to direct those influences.

TO THOSE WHO CONTRIBUTED TO MY GOING TO FRANKFORT:

After the Congress I delivered 7 lectures in Germany, in the German language, and visited Negro groups in Paris. In addition I had many conferences, discussions, interviews, and question-and-answer forums. I addressed the members of two schools, and attended the annual dinner meeting of "European National Minorities" in Berlin.

Spoke over on the Majestic I lectured Sunday afternoon on "The Negro as Negro Art and Literature." The meeting was sponsored by the NAACP and was the first of its kind who had heard me speak in forums in the United States, and drew a surprisingly large attendance in the dining saloon. Many persons were asked following the talk. Roger Baldwin presided, and a Mr. White from Virginia made an effort to get a chorus

... .. The American Committee
... .. for that subject for a long time, before,
... .. the Congress trip.

In addition to voluntarily free
the sailing also contributes toward the
the ship's food, was paid by myself.

SECRET

(4)

And most of the people, white and colored, who contributed toward this venture, while open-minded and in some cases aggressively progressive, are by no means "radical." One white student of the University of Washington, in Seattle, who was not solicited by the Committee, but who heard incidentally through his mother that I was to go, voluntarily and thoughtfully sent one dollar. Nearly 4 years ago he had heard me speak at the University.

Many thanks to all of you!

---William Pickens.

P.S. -
Louis Marshall, who has just died,
was a generous contributor to
the expenses of the trip.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F"

A-VK,
I AM NOT. NEVER HAVE BEEN. AND NEVER CAN BE A COMMUNIST

.....

By William Pickens -

February, 1943

To Representative Kurr, of North Carolina, and his associates, appointed by the House to receive and consider these facts and evidences:

My name is William Pickens, born in South Carolina, lived for 62 years - the first 23 years on farm, in school and at college, working my own way from 13 years. Finishing school at 23, I was for 16 years a college teacher and officer, bringing me to 39. Then for 21 years with a large national organization of white and colored people trying to better relations of races in this country, becoming 60. Today for 21 months I have served the United States Treasury, becoming 62 years old one month ago (January 16).

Having had more than 10,000 speaking engagements, conferences and connections in the last 25 years, I am charged by gentlemen who have not known me closely with having had 21 contacts with radical organizations, or organizations in which radicals were active, specifically in the last 16 years (since 1927). Permit me to say first that the list given should properly be 14, instead of 21: numbers 1, 4 and 5 belong together; numbers 8, 9, 10 and 11 are one connection; and numbers 12, 15 and 17 are the same. Allow me to state the facts about these cases or groups singly:

In 1927: I was not in Brussels in 1927. The one and only time that I have ever been in Brussels was 1913, 14 years before that date.

In 1929: I did go to the Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, as a non-Communist

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in feeling and an anti-Communist in all action. Thoughtful people in New York City reflected that only Communist Negroes had attended the world congress in Belgium and asked me to join a non-Communist American group for the Frankfurt Congress. All the Negroes known to be going from the United States were with the Communists, and the non-Communists thought it a good idea to take a Negro in their non-Communist delegation. We had each to raise his own expenses; the American Committee asked me, as the others, to send a list of my friends and acquaintances who would be willing to help on my expenses. I sent a list and contributions were made by such Americans as Louis Marshall, great constitutional lawyer; Moorfield Storey, great Boston law-firm head; Dr. C. K. Bartlett, then in Chicago, now in Iowa City, and other white and a number of colored conservatives of our country. In a hurried trip to New York City a day or two ago, I found a "Report" made by William Pickens in 1929, when he returned, and sent to all those who had contributed and to the Associated Negro Press: thanking them for sending a total of \$382, and reporting that \$30.84 of that amount had been deducted by the Committee for stenography, postage, printing, etc., leaving \$351.16; that the trip had cost \$530.98, so that more than \$200 he had to pay himself. Of the amount contributed, 67 per cent was given by whites and 33 per cent by Negro Americans. All this I learn now, 14 years after, from this old paper dug out of a file that was tied up and put away in my cellar, perhaps never to be opened again. It is here for your inspection, and a photostat copy. I quote from William Pickens of 1929: "The Communists were evidently, perhaps a bit too evidently, in control of the general machinery and leading policies of the organization. There were many influential non-Communists, like James Maxton, of England; several of the

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American delegates, like Roger Baldwin and William Pickens; and some of the representatives of India." Those were a few of the non-Communists encountered. There was not then any reason to expand or to apologise, for nobody at the time had any doubts about my politics and my connection with this Congress. I warned in this brief statement of three pages that the Communists were planning to call the next year for London or Berlin a sort of "Heads--I win! Tails--you lose!" congress of all Negroes, to embarrass the British Government, for if the British shut them out of London, they could make all the more of this fact at Berlin. And one paragraph from the "report" of Pickens of 1929 added:

"All the more important is it that there should be Negroes in this Congress who have influence and who are not Communists. Such a congress is likely to have a large influence on liberal and open-minded people in all the great nations. Most of the delegates, even from the United States, will be Communists or directly under Communist influence. Even the wiser Communist leaders must realize that such a show of party alignment and party propaganda would not react to the advantage of Negroes in America or elsewhere in the world."

Evidently, that Pickens, of 14 years ago, was anti-Communist, but was not so ambitious as to think of so being for the sake of his country, but for the best interests of his race.

In 1933: In this year Pickens still seems to be most emphatically anti-Communist, unless he has been able to jump both in and again out of that party in the intervening months; we find in his files the following statement published in "The Springfield (Mass.) Republican" of November 22, 1933:

"COMMUNIST 'AID' DEPLORED"

"Negroes Misled in Accepting Championship of Reds"

This article which was carried by the Associated Negro Press also to their nearly 200 Negro papers, after giving the details of this Communist meddling with Negro cases, closes with this paragraph:

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"It is time that political organization of Communists stopped meddling in the 'Negro Problem'."

In 1934: The very next year after that editorial I find a blast against the Communist from the old files of that William Pickens, such as would certainly seal the doors to the Communist Party to him from that date (April 14, 1934) until doomsday, even if by some miracle he had succeeded in entering the party and being kicked out in the few months that intervened since that editorial in The Springfield Republican and the Negro Press in the late fall of 1933. It is entitled:

"INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE TELLS 2000-MILE LIE"

Evidently, in the previous few months Pickens had not jumped into and again out of the Communist Party, but had been standing much in their way of making headway among colored Americans by their sham championship of the cases of the unfortunate Negro youths known as the "Scottsboro Boys," which had induced the International Labor Defense and the "Daily Worker" to tell a lie which called out this terrific blast of logic, fact and humor. (If this Committee wishes me to do so, I will read that two page editorial of mine to the Committee. But it is here in the record.)

In 1938-39: Since that 1934 evidence would certainly have shut me out of joining privileges for the next fifty years, I knew you will allow us to move on to 1938 and the Spanish cause. In that year I was in Europe as a tourist. All our passports were marked NOT GOOD FOR SPAIN, or words to that effect. That made me all the more interested when intelligent Negroes, before I sailed from New York, asked: "Are you going to Spain?" "No," said I, "but I would like to do so, to see something of the awful civil war of the Fascists and the

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Loyalists, but we are not allowed in Spain." They explained that they were interested in a Medical Bureau (of white Americans) which sends medical supplies and ambulances, and that they were themselves getting the Negroes to raise funds for one ambulance to be sent the Loyalists and that they (these colored people) would like to have me to go down to Spain, as a part of my vacation, and see what is being done for the colored American boys who were in the Loyalist armies. The only catch I saw in this was that I was to pay my own expenses from Paris to Barcelona and back. They undertook to get the visa through the Medical Bureau, but had not succeeded when the ship sailed. However, in Paris, I was a week or so later advised by the American Ambassador's office that our State Department had cabled him to visa me for Spain. I was elated, went through the tedious process of being checked and okayed by the French police, by the Spanish consuls, and almost a week later took a train for the Spanish border, paying every cent of my own expenses, except that, after I entered Spain, some Loyalist government bus took me in a great crowd of other passengers on to Barcelona. I was permitted to see through one of the greatest hospitals in Spain, to view the work for children, to talk with high officials, etc. - all because I was a nominal representative of the "medical bureau," which I had never met or seen. One of the officials of government in Barcelona was so cordial and intelligent in allowing me to see the inside workings of the so-called Loyalist government bureaus, that a year or two later, after France had taken Barcelona, when I was presented with a circulating petition to the government here that this person should be permitted to come over the border from Mexico into our country for a brief visit, I just naturally and normally signed the petition to the President. The idea of the political party that this person might belong to had never occurred to me either in

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Spain or since.

That is the basis of all my interest in and opportunities to speak for the "Spanish Aid" organizations when I came back home. The very first meeting on my return was a welcoming banquet presided over by the top Negro official of the YMCA. I had seen Barcelona under siege, where our present friends, the Italians, were bombing the people every day or two. I could tell about these things: many people wanted to hear, and so whatever time was allowed in between my frequent trips outside of the city in my regular work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I went to some of these meetings, and with no interest in politics told of what I had seen and heard. At one of these meetings a member of the Congress of the United States was one of the speakers. The outrages of the Italians against Ethiopia had prepared all colored Americans to take the anti-Italian side in any war, with no thought of the politics of the opposing side.

In 1939: This explains another thing. While I was in Barcelona, trying to get some money changed into Spanish legal money, another American, of the white race, who was about the same errand, hearing me speak, recognized that I was also American, asked me a few questions, and offered to communicate with me when he got back to the U. S. A. Never again did he occur to my mind until in 1939 (I think it was) when I was about my usual task of work for my organization, I received a letter saying that the writer had seen me in Spain, and asking simply, would I not write an article on the "Fight Against Fascism" for the many Negroes who he said read his paper. I knew that "The New Masses" was a radical paper. I had never been close enough to any of them to know whether they were Communist or Socialist, or other radicals, - but I had a test for what they could stand for

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and so I wrote an article: "The Fight Against Fascism," which I knew would be good for whatever white or black American might read it. (It is page 6 in these documents.) He kept urging me to send an article, and so I sat down and wrote what I doubted he would publish, and he did not publish it. If anyone will read the long paragraph on page 7 of these documents, which is the second page of that article, he will see why the editor of that paper could not publish it. That gave me an advantage: I knew that he had hoped I would write something directly favorable to Communism, and so I wrote another article: "The American Negro's Interest is Anti-Fascist," - but was careful to contrast Fascism with DEMOCRACY and not with any minority political idea. He changed the title but published this. It was a fair article, and many Negro papers copied it.

In the article which the New Masses editor could not publish, I quote from the paragraph on page 7 (page 2 of the article):

"By training and temperament I am a democrat, believing in the compromise of the ballot after agitation and discussion, and having no favor for class warfare. Harrow discipline never suited me. Therefore, although I could work toward these universal ends side by side with any humans, I could never become a member of minority political parties, with the limitations implied. Some of the people with whom I worked made the mistake of many - seeming to think that a man could not look upon 'radicals' as being simply human beings without being one of the radicals. From these (conservatives) I expected opposition, ignorant opposition. Soon I was to find also that with the radicals I was a 'marked man', because I did not and could not agree with them in all things. Like Roger Baldwin, I took the right which I accorded: the right to disagree in any detail. When I got to the great Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1929, whither I had been urged to come and to deliver an address of 45 minutes, I found that plans had been developed at the Congress to muzzle me, and other American leaders, and the great leader of the Independent British Labor Party, - these of us who were on the program, but who did not belong to the radical party, whose members seemed them in the saddle." Etc.

Not to burden this Committee's time, I will tell more briefly what happened, but the paragraph is here (page 7 of these exhibits) for any one to read. They

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had planned to ring the bell on us at 8 or 10 minutes after we had started to speak, with no warning to us beforehand. They succeeded with some of the English non-radicals who did not speak German. In my case, it was planned to ring me down and one of the Negro American Communists was groomed to speak after me and tear up all that I might be able to say in my first few minutes. But this fellow was so elated at his opportunity that he talked (not to me but to one whom he regarded as a faithful radical). This person, who had heard me speak on the ship going over, who may have been a radical but who had conceived the idea that I was fair and decent, even though not a radical, warned me: "They are planning to tear up your speech," relating the plot. So I did a little plotting of my own, "Uncle Remus" style: I knew the German language, and I had put my speech into both German and English. The great audience (they said 15,000 that day) I noticed was mainly German people of Frankfurt. Therefore instead of speaking in English which the Russian Chairman who was appointed to preside and see the trick through that day expected me to use, I spoke the German language. The presiding officer was so excited that he rang the bell at exactly 7 minutes after I had started. Then the audience got busy: it threatened to tear the place apart unless they would let me go on with my speech. The Germans listened and shouted their applause, as I was permitted to use the entire 45 minutes and to make my entire speech. The conservative newspapers present, one I remember, the Frankfurter Zeitung, wrote up the incident, praising my German speech, and invited me to visit their editorial offices, where they asked me how in the world that crowd had invited me to make such a speech at this Congress. I explained to them: that I belong to one of the old regular parties of the United States and had come, not as a

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radical, but with regular Americans as a hopeless antidote to the radicalism which we had found there. That was the very last of my interest or activity even with the Anti-Imperialist movement, which involved much of the interest of the Negro race, 150 million of them being in Africa, which was controlled absolutely by the European powers.

And now, gentlemen of the Committee, and fellow-Americans, we come to what most of us have seen to be the acid test for an American Communist. We have brought William Pickens (see New Masses references) down to 1939 and he seems not to have declared or plainly revealed any Communist attachment but quite to the contrary he has been fighting the Communists without fear or apology, to prevent their taking in the gullible section of his own race. In a month or two Russia is to make a "Non-Aggression Pact" with Hitler, who is to start the present war in 1939. Then every Communist in our country (and even some others) are against any American sympathy or participation in the war, especially against giving or even selling any help to Britain. Some of our great Senators and Congressmen were of the same position, but for a different reason than the motives of the Communist. Surely this war will smoke out William Pickens, who, if he be Communist, has so far misled not only all of his fellow-citizens but also all of the Communists whom he has ever talked to. None of them believe that he is a Communist.

In 1939-1941: When the war was declared he was about to make a speech in Los Angeles, Cal., on the problems of the Negro race in America, for his regular organization program. On that Sunday following the war declaration he changed his subject and spoke on the war, taking his uncompromising and unhesitating stand squarely behind the President of the United States, going even further

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than our President could then afford to go: declaring that Britain and France were our natural allies, since they are freedom-loving democracies, that Germany and all who might support her were our enemies, and that we should not only be willing to sell to the democracies anything which we have that would help them but should hurry to the conclusion of actually GIVING them anything for their fight which we possess,--because they would be fighting our battles.

In a life of 58 years up to that time, I had never had any idea of working for the Government. The Treasury first called me up on the 29th or 30th of April, 1941. But all of these editorials and articles submitted hereafter, were written and published in the years of war preceding that date.--No true Communist sided with us until Germany invaded Russia, June 22, 1941. Following are a few of my editorials:

Page 21--"I AM AN AMERICAN"

Page 24--"ONE YEAR OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

Page 25--"BRITAIN BATTLES FOR CIVILIZATION"

Page 26--"GOD SAVE AMERICA"

Page 27--"AGAIN THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS"

Page 29--"THE WAR--GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE"

Page 38--"THAT LEND-LEASE-GIVE BILL"

Page 44--"THE PRESIDENT MAKES A GREAT SPEECH"--Against Italy's jump into the war.

Page 45--"SHORT OF WAR"--What?

Page 46--"BUT THE SOUTHERNERS IN CONGRESS ARE FOR IT"--ridiculing this narrow-minded expression as a reason for others to be against our pro-British and pro-democracy sentiment.

Page 48--"IF WE DON'T HAVE WAR"--Striking back at the President's enemies or critics who attacked him for saying simply that when taking farewell

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of friends after a vacation in Georgia.

Page 25--26--27 "PLACE, PEACE TO THE PEACE SOCIETIES"--written in 1938,
year before war outbreak, in support of the President's
hard fights for naval and military preparedness.

And also there are the following:

My article on Trotsky's murder. What Communist would have dared to call that
simple murder by its correct name? Or if the Communist writer were a Trotskyite,
he would not go on to say as does the writer of my article, that he has no
sympathy with Trotsky's political plans. (See page 30 of these exhibits.)
Also, see pages 31, 32, etc., where I advised the Chairman of the Negro
Spanish Aid Committee that we should get out from the others, if they object-
ed to our giving the same sympathy and aid to Finland as we had tried to give
to other weak groups, like the Spanish Republicans.--And see "SENSES AGAINST
WISHES," (Page 47) written in support of the President's effort to prepare our
country by revamping our War and Navy Departments. In the same article I
strike out against the positions of Lindbergh and certain Government officials,--
which I had been doing ever since they started on their well-known course. If
these devotions, efforts and acts be Communist, gentlemen, only in such case
could William Fickens be a Communist. But he would be in a class by himself.

I realize that in running through the chronology laid out for me by those
who misunderstood me (namely, the last 16 years, from 1927 to 1943). I have
left out several of the charges, about which I will be glad to speak if ques-
tioned. Sponsoring "Constitutional Liberties," a meeting to protect the
"Foreign Born," endorsing the idea of holding a conference on "Inalienable
Rights," and saying a word for "Democracy and Intellectual Freedom," - those
things I may have done, as my organization was asking others almost daily to

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sponsor its open and public-educational efforts. I trust it will not surprise you that I never acted in any of these organizations, and never actually had the time to attend one single meeting of any of them. Many such solicitations we turned down. We could not investigate all of them. So when we saw some respected name on the officer list or letterhead,—like Dr. John Dewey, of Columbia, or Dr. Franz Boas, or a great Rabbi, or John Haynes Holmes, or others whom we knew to be good citizens,—we sometimes gave our amen.

Whatever others may think, the knowing Communists have always regarded William Pickens as their most effective opponent in the Negro race. They will be astonished to hear that anybody thinks otherwise.

And now, with the permission of the Chairman, I am giving him five copies of papers which show that less than a year ago, the inner circle of the organization for which I worked more than thirty years accused me of being the opposite to what the present accusation alleges: accused me, in fact, of being too loyal to my country and too willing to drop all domestic fights, or at least place them secondary to our great national fight for victory and survival. They let me out for that extreme. Surely I cannot be both at that extreme and, at the same time, at this one. But that is for the Committee to decide. I have only submitted part of the evidence which I incidentally have.

I shall be happy to help this Committee to arrive at any further information that is within my possession or my memory.

Wm. Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "N"

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee convened at 9:30 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes, chairman of the subcommittee presiding.

Present: Hon. Joe Starnes, Hon. Noah M. Mason, and Hon. Karl E. Mundt.

Also present: J. B. Matthews, director of research, and Robert E. Stripling, secretary and chief investigator for the committee.

Also present: Messrs. Houghteling and Tietjens, Treasury Department.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Reporter, in the proceedings this morning, when you start let the record show that Mr. Houghteling, from the Treasury Department, who is in charge, as I understand, of Chief Administrator, of the office of which the witness is a member, and Mr. Tietjens, Assistant General Counsel for the Treasury Department, are present and observing the proceedings.

Let me say to the witness that the nature of this hearing is supplementary to the work of and is intended to assist Judge Kerr and his appropriations subcommittee in reaching a decision on the statements or allegations made by Mr. Dies on the floor a short time ago that a number of Federal employees either had been members of or were publicly affiliated with or publicly associated with what have been commonly denominated as front organizations of a subversive nature.

A. I recall it, there was no particular charge or allegation that any of the people named were subversive themselves, but that they had been members of these organizations or had been publicly associated or affiliated with them, as I recall the language.

It is for that purpose that the committee now is in session, and after we ask you some preliminary questions, and Dr. Matthews, acting as a committee employee, has asked you some questions with reference to your affiliations, if you have an additional statement you wish to make you can do so; and in the propounding of questions to you, if you feel that an unequivocal yes or no answer might be embarrassing to you, let me assure you that it won't be. Please answer yes or no and then give whatever explanation immediately thereafter you want to explain why. It saves you from qualifying

your answer and appearing evasive. You know how it is when a witness is asked a question. When he makes an unequivocal answer to it and is not given an opportunity to defend himself, he wants to explain himself. We understand that.

Will you stand and be sworn?

(The witness, William Pickens, was sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM PICKENS, PRINCIPAL DEFENSE
SECURITIES SPECIALIST, TREASURY DEPARTMENT**

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you a few preliminary questions, and after that Dr. Matthews will take over the examination. Give us your full name and your address.

Mr. PICKENS. William Pickens. My office address is United States Treasury Department, War Savings Staff. My permanent address is New York City—I mean my voting address. I have a residence here in Washington.

Mr. STARNES. Give us your address in New York.

Mr. PICKENS. 260 West One Hundred and Thirty-ninth.

Mr. STARNES. You are a native-born American citizen?

Mr. PICKENS. I was born in South Carolina.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the date and place of your birth.

Mr. PICKENS. January 15, 1881.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us your educational training and background?

Mr. PICKENS. Well, my first 10 years or so I was on the farms in South Carolina and Arkansas. Then I got my public school education in Arkansas. I graduated from the school in Little Rock. Then I went to Talladega College in Alabama. I finished there. I went to Yale University. Then I went back to Talladega and taught 10 years. I taught 1 year in Wiley College in Texas. Then I was dean and vice president of Morgan College in Baltimore. For 21 years after that I was working for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now, for about 21 or 23 months, I have been working for the Treasury Department.

Mr. STARNES. That gives us a summary of your educational background and your professional and business experience. That covers it in brief?

Mr. PICKENS. In brief; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You hold degrees from what colleges?

Mr. PICKENS. From Talladega, from Yale, from Fiske, and Selma University.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the degrees.

Mr. PICKENS. A. B. from Talladega and Yale; A. M. from Fiske; Literary Doctor from Selma; and LL. D. from Wiley College; and I have a little diploma from the British Esperanto Association.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever engaged in any work other than teaching and your work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. PICKENS. I never have since I got out of school. Of course, I was a worker before I went to school; worked my way through college and school.

Mr. STARNES. No embarrassing implications are meant by the next question, but it is one of routine that we always ask. You have never been arrested or convicted of a crime?

Mr. PICKENS. I never have been convicted, but I was arrested once in a serious auto accident in California, where all the other people were white people, and I was completely exonerated.

Mr. STARNES. All right. That is all I have to ask, Mr. Mason, do you care to ask anything preliminarily?

Mr. MASON. No.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your title in your present position?

Mr. PICKENS. In my office I am Chief of the Inter-Racial Section of the National Organizations Division. Of course, the Treasury appointed me as Principal Defense Securities Specialist, but I am chief of the Inter-Racial Section.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On what date did you assume the duties of that position?

Mr. PICKENS. Of this office?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. PICKENS. I started working for the Treasury on the 15th of May 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your salary in that position?

Mr. PICKENS. \$5,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has that been your salary since the assumption of your present duties?

Mr. PICKENS. Since the assumption of my duties.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you traveled abroad?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes, quite a number of times; five or six times. I forget which. About five times, at least.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you, from your recollection, give an outline of the dates and places visited?

Mr. PICKENS. In 1913 I went abroad for the first time as a tourist. I went to practically all the countries of Europe except Russia. We did not have to have passports to go anywhere except Russia and Turkey in those days, in 1913.

The next time I went abroad was a long time after that, in 1927, when the Friends, the Quakers, of England asked me to come and deliver some lectures in England. I delivered lectures in England. I went to Germany. I went to Russia. I came back through Warsaw, came back to England, delivered 50 more lectures, then I came back home.

The next time I think was 1929, when I went to Frankfurt, an anti-imperialist congress. Then I went to Germany and lectured in Germany again. I spoke the German language. I went to England first because in England the non-Communist crowd wanted to get with our crowd, which was understood to be non-Communist, and make preliminaries for that meeting in Frankfurt. Those people got together and some of us went over to Frankfurt, and then I went on with my lectures, and I came back. That was in 1929.

When I left Frankfurt I went to Germany, up to Hamburg, Berlin, and other places. I had been there before.

In 1932, I think was the next time, I went to Graz in Austria with the Study Tour. This is an American concern that was run out of

New York. It went to Graz and then to Vienna and through Prague—a Czechoslovakian city—and up into Germany again, in the German cities. I always felt very much at home in Germany, and I came back through France. I went through France and Geneva—the committees on the disarmament conference. I heard them discuss whether they would rather be shot with a 14-inch gun than a 16-inch gun.

Then I went to the Quakers' place and tried to teach them how to sing Negro spirituals. It is the only time I was ever a music teacher. I went through the States at that time also.

The next time was 1918. I went to Paris and some of my friends knew that there were colored boys in the Loyalist Army, and they asked me to go down to Spain. I could not get a passport. My passport was marked not good for Spain. I told them I could not go. They told me they would send me to the Medical Bureau, which sent medicines and ambulances. They said they could get me one. They could not get me a passport.

While I was in Paris the Ambassador there called me up and said they had a cable from the State Department to O. K. me to Spain. I went down to Barcelona. The Italians were bombing it every 2 or 3 days. That was not comfortable, but very interesting.

I came back to Paris, went over to London, and naturally, having been down to Spain and having a lot of pictures of children's camps and one thing and another, I was of interest in the Scotland Yard crowd very much, but they O. K'd me and passed me through because my passport was all regular and everything I had was regular, and I went back to the United States after visiting England a little bit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean Scotland Yard detained you?

Mr. PICKENS. No. Whenever you come in they look at everybody's bag, but they were very much interested when they saw what I had in my bag. At that time in England it was hands off, but they were rather partial to the French crowd. They looked it over. Everything was O. K. I went to England and stayed as long as I pleased—it was about 2 weeks—and then I came back to the United States. I think that was the last trip.

Mr. STANLEY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In telling about your visit to Europe in 1929 your mentioned going to the Frankfurt congress.

Mr. PICKENS. Anti imperialist Congress, they called it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1927 did you attend the same kind of congress in Brussels?

Mr. PICKENS. No. The only time I was in Brussels was in 1943 in my life.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend a congress anywhere else in Europe in 1927, of the same sort?

Mr. PICKENS. No. I spoke in Berlin, in the Herren House—many kinds of Germans. I suppose they wanted to hear what kind of German I spoke. I spoke in Berlin and I spoke in Warsaw to the teachers who could speak English. They turned out a good party of them. They said they could speak English. It was not very much English to me.

You know, the Quakers, for whom I was speaking in England, had their men to meet me in Berlin. They had their men to meet me in Warsaw. They had their men to meet me in Moscow. There were

One of the gentlemen I met was Troj-ky. Someone murdered him. He was very interesting. I met him at that time, the only time I met him, but he was a very interesting man to talk to.

MR. PICKENS: Yes; he spoke English. His English was not as good as yours or mine, but it was pretty good. He had been in the United States, as I understood, and Mr. Stalin was just coming into all works at that time in 1927.

(There was a discussion off the record.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of the Congress of the League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

Mr. McCREWS. Did you know at the time, or subsequently, when you read it in the Congressional Record, that you had been advertised as one of the delegates to the congress?

Mr. Merriw. Did you know Roger Babson?

Mr. MYRUM W. DIDKALIN. Did Baldwin ever say anything about a total of 100 House of Representatives?

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Mr. MYRTREWS. Did you know Manuel Gomez?

Mr. PICKENS. That is a name I have heard. I am sure, but I am sure I never knew him. I don't know whether I ever met him. I might have. I meet so many people.

Mr. MYRTREWS. For your information, I will show you a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker for March 9, 1927, which lists you as one of the four American delegates to the First Congress of the League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels in February of 1927.

Mr. PICKENS. I see. Well, they took that for granted, but I was not there. I came back to the United States. Yes, I see that. That is the first time I have seen that.

Mr. MYRTREWS. Do you recall the date of your visit to Europe in 1927?

Mr. PICKENS. Well, I went in the fall, about the last of November or the first of December.

Mr. MYRTREWS. Of 1926 or 1927?

Mr. PICKENS. 1926, and then stayed through Christmas. I was in Germany. I was in Russia. The Christmas season the Quakers cut me out of their lecturing program. I went on this other jaunt and came back. Then some time in February, I think, I sailed back to the United States; that is, of course, just guessing. I stayed about 2 months or a little more abroad. I came back when they wrote this. I was either back in the United States or on the way back when that appeared in the Daily Worker. I never read the Daily Worker, only when it had things about me several times that people brought to me.

Mr. MYRTREWS. You do not mean that you never read the Daily Worker?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not mean that I never read a single issue. I was not a subscriber regularly. I did not read it regularly. That is true of many papers that are not in the class of the Daily Worker.

Mr. MYRTREWS. Do you happen to recall where you were in the first week of February 1927?

Mr. PICKENS. I am sure I could not now. I do not know whether there is anything in my records anywhere that would show me.

Mr. MYRTREWS. I believe it is your testimony that until you read about this particular congress in the Congressional Record, you had no recollection of having been apprised of the fact that you were advertised as having been there?

Mr. PICKENS. No; not at all. I do not remember anybody having—somebody might have—apprised me of the fact that I had been.

Mr. MASON. This was the trip after you spent the Christmas season up in Russia?

Mr. PICKENS. And Germany.

Mr. MASON. But you came back to England and delivered 30 more lectures?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. These lectures would have to be delivered from the early part of January after you came back?

Mr. PICKENS. Not too early in January, because I think it was along the last part of January before I got back to England. I am not certain of that.

Mr. MASON. Then, if it was along toward the last of January that you came back to England and you delivered 20 lectures after that before coming back to America, that would mean that you would have to spend at least 20 days or so in England?

Mr. PICKENS. Just about a month.

Mr. MASON. And that would carry you into at least the middle of February, if not toward the latter end of February?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes.

Mr. MASON. So, according to that, he would be scheduled to deliver this series of lectures at least during the first 2 weeks of February; maybe the first 3 weeks.

Mr. PICKENS. I think it must have been about the first 3 weeks, because I did not get back to England until the latter part of January.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you sail directly from England back to the United States?

Mr. PICKENS. Back to the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not go back to the Continent?

Mr. PICKENS. Not at all. I had no further visits in the Continent.

Mr. STARNES. What does that Daily Worker purport to show, Doctor?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Daily Worker gives a list of the delegates ostensibly sent to Brussels in the delegation from the United States. Four persons are named, William Pickens as representing the John Brown Memorial Association, and also the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Richard Moore as representing the American Negro Labor Congress; Roger Baldwin as representing the National Urban League; and Manuel Gomez as representing the Communist Party and also the All America Anti-Imperialist League.

Mr. MASON. When was this conference or congress held?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This congress was held the first week in February of 1927.

Mr. MASON. The first week in February?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Now, if his lecture period covered that first week in February as according to the testimony it did, it would be impossible for him to have attended that, and I imagine that that lecture course could be checked up.

Mr. PICKENS. Oh, yes. John Fletcher, who arranged it, I think is still living in England, unless he got bombed, but the Quakers may remember that.

Mr. STARNES. Did you represent this John Brown Society?

Mr. PICKENS. This John Brown Memorial Association—I had almost forgotten that—was organized by a colored man in Philadelphia. When they did was every year have a pilgrimage up to John Brown's place up there in New York. I never had the privilege of going with them, but he is a man that has been knowing me practically all of my life.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of the association or affiliated with it in any way?

Mr. PICKENS. I was a member of the John Brown Memorial Association.

Mr. STARNES. At that particular time in 1926 and 1927 you were also working for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. This was just a side issue. It was one of the things that one of our friends was doing. We were not averse at all. The John Brown Memorial Association is something that amounted to nothing.

Mr. STARNES. Your main employment at that time was with the national association?

Mr. PICKENS. Since 1926 until I started with the Treasury I was working as a full time, full time officer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any further explanation as to why your name was placed among the list of delegates?

Mr. PICKENS. No. I went to Arthur Garfield Hays once, you know him, and these fellows had used my name in another connection. I went to him. I was going to see him. He said, "You will win the suit, but you will win and hurt them. What they will say is, the capitalists and others are putting you to it. They will find that is the date on which they wrote the file, and they don't own anything."

That was Arthur Garfield Hays. That was his advice, not this particular thing, because I did not know it was in there, and I would not have used them if I had known it. I would have just ignored it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you came back to the United States in 1927 were you publicly affiliated with or associated with an organization known as the Hanks Off China Conference?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. I want to tell you about that. That is quite interesting. The little organization did not last but a few months, I guess. They dropped me and Chiang Kai-shek. I was a speaker. Some young people came to my office, I think. I think the only time they came they brought two or three Chinese in New York. They said here were these people to start a people's movement. They had heard me make speeches about this. They asked me if I would not serve as their chairman. These were young people. They did not say they were Communists. I never heard the word "Communists" applied to them until I read that in the Congressional Record. They may have been. I am not denying that they were, because I don't know, but they told me they were interested in Chiang Kai-shek. They were talking about smashing Chiang Kai-shek's movement. I told them they could use my name. In a few months the thing broke up and they dropped me and Chiang Kai-shek.

I went to Frankfurt, and I found out the person they ran out on me. The Communists had been fighting Chiang Kai-shek. I never knew him. I had never met him.

The chairman for the young people of this committee for Hanks Off China, I never met them a single time. They came to my office when ever they wanted to talk to me about anything in the N. A. C. P.

At one time they brought a cable to me from a man by the name of Earl Browder. I never had heard of him or met him. I never met him until years after that in that anti-war conference. That was the first time I ever met Earl Browder. They brought me a cablegram from him asking me for funds. I said, "Who is he?" He was an American in China. Later on I found out that he was a representative

of the Daily Worker. He was interested in Chiang Kai-shek, but I never met him until 1927, I think, when we had the anti-war congress, but I did not know who he was at that time. I think that was in 1926 or 1927, somewhere along there, when we were having the hands-off China business.

Mr. STOKES. Was that about the same period of time that Earl Browder testified before our committee that he went to China on a mission, Doctor?

Mr. MARTIN. That is the same period.

Mr. PICKENS. He was there, because he sent a cable or something asking for funds. Naturally, they had sent my name.

Mr. STOKES. Earl Browder sent you a cable from China?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. Evidently it came to the Daily Worker, and they evidently sent it over by these young people to me. I don't know he was a Communist. I do not know that I would have mentioned if he was. He was interested in Chiang Kai-shek and so on.

Mr. MARTIN. Who were these young people?

Mr. PICKENS. I would not remember their names. My idea is, where in middle. I would find them, but they were some young people. They were people who were interested in these movements, and they never mentioned the word "communism" to me, not once. They never mentioned that word.

Mr. MARTIN. I believe you stated, if I understood you correctly, that you met them only in your office?

Mr. PICKENS. That is the only place I met them. I don't remember speaking for them. I may have. I don't think I did, because I don't remember they had any public meetings at all, but in my office is the only place I can recall. It is something I never tried to remember, but in my office is the only place I can recall seeing them, when they came to bring their reports and talk to me about it, and that was many times.

Mr. MARTIN. On or about March 16, 1927, do you recall having been present at a meeting at the Labor Temple where the Hands Off China conference organized itself?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I did not recall that. I may have been there. No, because when they brought it to me, did they organize after they asked me to serve? I don't remember that. I have spoken at the Labor Temple a number of times to groups. Our work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not a political work. We had a social program and our work was the work on the race line. When people ask us to speak, we never ask them for political. I may have been at this meeting. I don't recall, yes, but I have spoken a number of times there.

Mr. MARTIN. I have a suggestion to make: That if the witness will please allow me to ask him, we have a great deal of material to cover—it will expedite matters.

Mr. PICKENS. Thank you.

Mr. MARTIN. Unless the matter is particularly relevant to the point.

Mr. PICKENS. All right.

Mr. MARTIN. According to the Daily Worker of March 17, 1927, the Hands Off China conference organized itself at a public meeting.

at the Labor Temple at Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, and the Daily Worker account reads, in part, as follows:

Last night's conference chose William Pickens as temporary chairman, and he was later made permanent chairman, with Patrick McLellan as vice chairman, and Vivian Wilkerson, secretary.

Does that refresh your recollection as to whether or not you were there?

Mr. PICKENS. No; it does not make me recall being there. They could have done that without my being there. Those young people that had spoken to me—I had to go out of town often.

Mr. MYRINOWS. Do you recall either one of these names: Patrick McLellan or Vivian Wilkerson?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not. You understand my position. So many people I have met and I have been to 10,000 meetings and engagements, and I don't remember either one of them, but I could not say that I did not meet them sometime and know them.

Mr. MYRINOWS. Further on in the account of this meeting as it appears in the Daily Worker there appears the following:

Chairman Pickens in his opening address told how when he was in Russia recently he had met 25 of the Chinese generals who were fired with indignation as they told him of the fight of Chiang Kai-shek against its foreign exploiters.

Mr. PICKENS. I may have done that. I may have spoken of it. I remember meeting the Chinese general in Russia, when they were showing me everything. There were 25 generals of General Chiang's army there. That was a sight to see, but they did not tell me anything, because they spoke Chinese and I spoke English.

Mr. MYRINOWS. Does that paragraph refresh your recollection as to your presence at this conference?

Mr. PICKENS. I am telling you those things were not part of my regular work, and it has been 11 and 15 years, and I would not recall being there, because it was not important to me. It was not anything that was part of my regular work. A good many things I can remember, but out of 10,000 occasions, I would not remember that, but if the evidence is there, perhaps I was there, but I would not know it because I told you I never read the Daily Worker. I never bothered about their reports.

Mr. STARNES. But you do remember the incident about the Chinese generals?

Mr. PICKENS. Oh, yes. I met them in Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. You do remember the incident of the young people coming to you and interesting you in the Hand-Off China movement?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you do remember the fact that there was a telegram presented you from Earl Browder asking for funds to aid Chiang Kai-shek?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. If that account appears there, which you may not have any independent recollection about it now, you are not prepared to say that that meeting was not held and that you did not preside as either permanent or temporary chairman. It is just one of the incidents that you do not have fixed in your mind?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes; I do not have it in mind. I doubt that I presided there. They may have listed me as something there because we were interested in the Hand-Off China movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Daily Worker account says that the other speakers were William F. Dunne and Bertram D. Wolfe.

Mr. PICKENS. I do not remember them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember that William F. Dunne and Bertram D. Wolfe were two of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I never knew their politics.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that Dunne still is, as a matter of fact?

Mr. PICKENS. I suppose he is. I have known of him of course. Anybody in New York would.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recall at this time that Patrick McClellan and Vivian Wilkinson were also publicly identified as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I do not recall. I do not recall them, in fact. I do not recall the two people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In addition to being chairman of the Hands Off China conference, do you recall whether or not you were a member of the general advisory committee of the organization?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I do not. You know, sometimes they use your name in places where they did not give you a chance. The general advisory committee? I do not remember that they had one. If they put me on it, I don't remember if I ever met it. They could have put me on it. If you are working with them, they take liberties with your name and use it. I don't know that I would have objected if they did, because I was interested in the Hands Off China. I would not have objected if they wanted to put me on some advisory committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Richard E. Moore?

Mr. PICKENS. I have been knowing him for a number of years. Every colored person in New York knows him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are aware of the fact that Moore is a publicly professed Communist?

Mr. PICKENS. I think so. We always took that for granted. I can't say that he was publicly professed. I never asked him. But we always took it for granted that he was a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the record, Mr. Chairman, I must extend that Richard E. Moore has been a functionary of the Communist Party publicly. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. PICKENS. Oh, yes.

Mr. SEYMOUR. Just like you took it for granted that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Farley were Democrats; even though you never heard from say so.

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. From his activities we always took it for granted that Mr. Moore was an open member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you a question in your mind as to whether or not the Hands Off China conference was a Communist organization?

Mr. PICKENS. I never really even heard that. In those days, there were not supposed to be more than 10 of 11 Communists in the United States and nobody was afraid of them. If they were interested in something we were interested in, we did not fear them. The young people of the Hands Off China might not have been. They may have been of the same party I was, which was the Republican Party at that time, though I never questioned it at all and I never had any idea they were members of the Communist Party. I knew they were

radical and were interested in radical things, but I was not interested in that. They knew what I was interested in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Inasmuch as these same individuals who invited you to become chairman of this organization subsequently brought you a telegram from Earl Browder, you are not satisfied—

Mr. PICKENS. I am satisfied now, but then I did not know Earl Browder.

I knew that it was an American name, because it came out of China. Earl Browder would not be Chinese. They did not mention that he was a Communist, but he was working for Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make any speeches for the Hands Off China movement or organization outside of the city of New York?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I don't remember ever speaking for the Hands Off China. In my speeches, my many speeches in many places, I might have mentioned this China business. I don't remember making any speeches. They could not pay my way. If I was going somewhere and met a group, I might have told them that I was interested in Hands Off China; let China have its revolution as we had ours.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether or not, on or about March 26, 1927, you delivered a speech for the Hands Off China movement in Philadelphia?

Mr. PICKENS. In Philadelphia? No; I don't recall. I may have, but I don't recall it. As I say, in my work and going, I might have spoken for them somewhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the Daily Worker of March 26, 1927, and again according to the Daily Worker of March 31, 1927, you were one of the principal speakers for a Hands Off China street demonstration in Philadelphia.

Mr. PICKENS. That might be just like the Brussels thing. I don't recall having any street demonstration or speaking in Philadelphia. I have spoken on streets in New York sometimes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was a parade which ended up down in one of the Philadelphia parks.

Mr. PICKENS. It seems to me I ought to remember that if there was a parade, but I don't remember that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the account of the demonstration in the Daily Worker of March 31, 1927, on page 5, we find the following:

The last speaker, William Pickens, field secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke of the growing restiveness of the oppressed colonial peoples of the world and their growing determination to throw off the yoke of world imperialism.

Mr. PICKENS. You know, that is interesting. What I mean, that is their language, you know, and not mine. I don't recall that occasion. I don't even remember speaking.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The other three principal speakers named here are Albert Weisbord—

Mr. PICKENS. I remember Weisbord. I met him several times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether you met him on or about this time?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I can't possibly do that; but I have met Weisbord. I knew him in New York, and if I was in Philadelphia and they were having a meeting—

Mr. MATTHEWS. You recall that Weisbord was one of the prominent leaders of the Communist Party?

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Mr. PICKENS. No; I never heard that, but I would not doubt it, if you want to say that; but I did not know then and really don't know now that he was a Communist leader. I knew that he was radical and interested in certain things that I was interested in. I remember Weishbord.

Mr. STARNES. You remember him and you do remember having probably spoken with him at places in times past?

Mr. PICKENS. If I spoke with him at this place, I can't recall another place where I spoke with him. You see, I traveled all over the United States, from San Diego and Seattle to Boston and Maine. If we happened to be together and were interested in the same thing at the same time, I would not have refused to speak for the thing I was interested in.

Mr. STARNES. I understand, but what I was trying to fix in mind, Dean, since you said you recall you knew this man, was if you could not recall whether at some place or some places you had probably spoken with him from the same platform.

Mr. PICKENS. I do not doubt it; perhaps in New York City. I could not have remembered this Philadelphia thing. That is the first thing that it has occurred to me since I was there, if I was there, but doubtless in New York or somewhere I was interested in this thing, because I talked with so many people. For all the ease you gave down there I could put down there 300 others; but not with the radicals, but with the conservative ones, with the colleges and universities of this country.

Mr. MARRINOWS. The public record shows that Albert Weishbord was a Communist member of the Communist Party at this time, that he was subsequently expelled by the Communist Party and organized his own organization, known as the Communist faction, known as the Weishbordist, in what at the same manner as Lovestone and his expulsion and the Lovestoneist.

Mr. PICKENS. I did not know that. The other two speakers besides Weishbord and Green, who are listed here were Irving Green, representing the Communist Party, and Alex Baul, who was secretary of the Communist Party in Philadelphia. Do you recall either Irving Green or Alex Baul?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I did not know those people well, just like any other people. I spoke on the platform with other people. I would not know them if I saw them. But that is interesting. I have spoken so many places, so much and so many times. These were my friends of my activity. My main activity was 250 to 300 meetings a year for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We were asking these people to do things for us all the time. When they asked us, we did what we could.

Mr. MARRINOWS. Were you publicly affiliated with or associated with the All America Anti-Imperialist League? Will you say yes or no?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not recall, but the All America Anti-Imperialist League was the blueprint doubtless prepared for us to go to the Anti-Imperialist League in Frankfurt, and it seems to me they had a dinner when we were getting up our delegation, and I remember being present at that dinner and being one of the speakers, but it had nothing to do with Communists. There was Roger Baldwin and other not.

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Communists. I don't remember where I was, but I remember speaking.

Mr. STANLEY. Your answer would be that you had been publicly affiliated or associated with the organization?

Mr. PICKENS. I suppose that is the name of it, but it was the non-Communist crowd and the other people who were gathering the delegation to go to Frankfurt for the Anti-Imperialist delegation.

Mr. MARRIOTT. On the letterhead of the All America Anti-Imperialist League, which is a letterhead dated April 11, 1928, and signed by Manuel Gomez, there is listed the national committee of the organization on which your name appears.

Mr. PICKENS. I suppose so.

Mr. MARRIOTT. You were a member of the national committee of the All America Anti-Imperialist League?

Mr. PICKENS. According to that record. I have never had any of their correspondence, and I suppose they wrote me. I was one of the delegates to Frankfurt. I suppose I did not object.

Mr. STANLEY. They probably wrote you that they wanted you to serve on their board.

Mr. PICKENS. Very likely. Sometimes they did things like that. Sometimes they took it for granted. I will say frankly that probably I would not have objected.

Mr. MARRIOTT. You are overlooking the fact that this letter is dated a year and a half prior to the Frankfurt conference, so there is doubt as to its connection.

Mr. PICKENS. Well, I don't know. I am saying that the thing that belonged to me was because I was going to the Frankfurt conference. It was the reason that they put me on there. It may have been that they were organizing their forces for the Frankfurt conference. I could not know. When I do not know the date of the letter or the date of the letterhead.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Do you mean to imply that the preparations for the Frankfurt conference were being carried on a year and a half ahead of the conference?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not mean to say that, because I do not know. I would not know. If that is a year and a half before, I had been to England and Germany and Spain, and this other conference must have been in preparation for a long time, because it was a mighty big thing. So I don't know, but it would not surprise me if they had that in mind. Anyhow, the Anti-Imperialist League, and rightly would be something that I would not have any objection belonging to. Communism is what I am driving at. Some of them may have been Communists. They were not to me.

Mr. MARRIOTT. You said you might not have objected to belonging to this All America Anti-Imperialist League?

Mr. PICKENS. I said that. All America Anti-Imperialist League did not appear to disturb my Republican politics or Democratic politics as it is now, not at all.

Mr. MARRIOTT. If you were apprised of the fact that the Attorney General, Mr. Francis B. Biddle, has recently held that Harry Bridges is deportable because he was affiliated with the All America Anti-Imperialist League, would that change your opinion?

Mr. PICKENS. You know, I did not know that the Attorney General had designated it, because it has been years since I was connected

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...I don't know that until I read it in the Congress.
...interesting and I wouldn't be surprised. That

...are not discharging Harry Bridges, but I
...sympathy with him since the whole
...of known him, but not as

...it was on back there 14 years ago that
...the Attorney General said anything

...the Attorney General said anything

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but you must remember that I had no reason or no motive to run from anybody at that time. I am trying to explain to you that my motives and interests were not in the Communist Party, and they never even took it that way. They never even imposed on me by inviting me to become a Communist. In fact, they knew I would not have if they did.

Mr. STANNES. Proceed.

Mr. MARRINOW. Among the other prominent Communist leaders who ran this rather small committee of the All America Anti-Imperialist League were Charlotte Anita Whitney, of California; Scott Nearing, who at that time was a member of the party; Robert W. Dunn, Albert Weisbach, Ben Gold, Max Schachtman, Harry Ganness.

Mr. STANNES. Who is that?

Mr. MARRINOW. Harry Ganness, now deceased, formerly editor for the Daily Worker—William F. Duane, and some others.

Mr. STANNES. What is your next exhibit?

Mr. MARRINOW. You have stated you were publicly affiliated with the International Labor Defense, a moment ago.

Mr. STANNES. Yes. When they were organized, under my definite question they said there is no politics and it is not a Communist organization, and I was working with an organization that was dealing with labor defense, and here was a great organization that the people wanted to join. I joined it. I ran out. He said did not run with them. They were radicals when I met them. I guess my name was on their letterhead somewhere, but I never bothered with it.

Mr. MARRINOW. On the letterhead of the International Labor Defense, in a letter dated February 18, 1928, signed by Alfred Wapenkowski, who is a representative of the national committee of the International Labor Defense, your name is found.

Mr. STANNES. You were a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. MARRINOW. The national officers listed on this letterhead were Elizabeth Miller, Ellen. You know she is one of the outstanding Communist Party members.

Mr. STANNES. And I believe she has got out of the American Civil Liberties Union because she is a Communist.

Mr. MARRINOW. Edward C. Wentworth, vice chairman. Did you know Wentworth?

Mr. STANNES. I may have remembered him. I may have known him.

Mr. MARRINOW. Who was identified publicly as a Communist, Alfred Wapenkowski, who was a charter member of the Communist Party of this country.

Mr. STANNES. Of course, I would not know that.

Mr. MARRINOW. And has been State secretary of the Communist Party in Missouri and elsewhere.

Norman H. Tallentire. Do you recall him?

Mr. STANNES. No. There are all sorts of names there I would not remember.

Mr. MARRINOW. Norman H. Tallentire was one of the Bridgman, Mich., defendants in the early days of communism. He was listed as assistant secretary of the International Labor Defense.

Karl Reeve, son of Mother Bloor, who has been a Communist for some 20 years.

Here are 5 officers listed here, all of whom at the time were prominent Communist leaders in the United States.

I want to know on what basis you deduced it was not a Communist organization.

Mr. PICKENS. I found out that the I. L. D. was a Communist organization by observation. I found out that they were radicals. I did not ask them if they were Communists. I dropped out. I never went to a third meeting. I don't think I went to a second, but I never went to a third.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know that in 1929, the date under consideration at the present time, the International Labor Defense was an affiliate of the International Red Aid, with its headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. PICKENS. No; I would not know that, because I was not interested.

Mr. STARNES. That is the testimony, as I recall it, of Mr. Browder and some of the other witnesses.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On this national committee, Mr. Chairman, with only two or three exceptions out of some 50 names, the persons were prominently identified as Communist leaders in this country.

Mr. PICKENS. At the time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Earl Browder. William Z. Foster. Paul Crouch. Did you know Paul Crouch?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Paul Crouch was convicted and received a 40-year sentence for engaging in Communist activities in the United States Army in Hawaii. He was released. He served about 3 years of his term, but this connection with the I. L. D. was after his release from prison.

Mr. PICKENS. In those cases where they have my name and a few other non-Communists, it may be that not 1 out of 10 of them—non-Communists and all—I never did meet. In our work for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, if someone wanted to give us a chance to spread our propaganda out, we generally took it, with no criminal intent. This was not a crime.

On my own test for them, when I met them a time or two I found they were too radical for me, not for the association, and I dropped out. I did not put my name there. They put it there. Maybe I wouldn't object. On a list where a good many of them were Communists, and it was not anything to me—it did not matter to me, because I did not know them, had not met them, and was not interested in their party politics—we were interested in our program of Negro-white.

Mr. STARNES. You were perfectly willing to use the Communist Party if they were working along the same lines as you were working?

Mr. PICKENS. No. If they had said "Communist Party" I would have run out on them. I never joined in with the Communist Party at any time, but an organization like this, which had Communists, could have had objectives like ours. I suppose some of them were members of the N. A. A. C. P.

Mr. STARNES. Your job was to carry out the job of your own organization, and if one of these Communist front organizations had a similar

objective in its program, you would join up with them and had no objection?

Mr. PICKENS. Exactly, but not because of their communism. We were continually asking them, and they were white people, and ours was a black-white relationship. It was not a political—Communist, Democrat, or Republican—and here was a group of white people, and we had by experience as much trouble with the poor whites and the radical whites as we had with anybody. So we never objected to meeting them or saying a word. It was our program that was put up, but I never in my life made a speech for communism or wrote a word in favor of it.

Mr. MARRIAGE. When you dropped out of the International Labor Defense, did you give a written resignation?

Mr. PICKENS. No, I did not. I just dropped out and did not go any more. In fact, they never quite accepted me. I could see that. They wanted me in, but they never trusted me with their program, because they knew I was not of that kind.

Mr. MARRIAGE. You make a proffer of all these exhibits that you are referring to in Dean Pickens's testimony, and they can be attacked at the end of the testimony, so it does not break the continuity of his testimony.

Mr. PICKENS. When I say I did not send a written resignation, it is because I don't remember sending one. Somebody might find one. Why should I say I am not coming any more when I found out it was communist? I just dropped out. There was no reason.

Mr. MARRIAGE. You were a delegate at the Frankfurt League Against Imperialism? You resigned to that?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes, with the non-Communists group.

Mr. MARRIAGE. That was in July 1929.

Mr. PICKENS. I think it was in July.

Mr. MARRIAGE. Did you meet James Ford?

Mr. PICKENS. I saw Ford there, James Maxton, and several other Negro Communists. All of them were not Communists. There were but three or four there.

Mr. MARRIAGE. Did you make a speech there?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes.

Mr. MARRIAGE. You are satisfied that it was under Communist control?

Mr. PICKENS. We were trying to keep it from under Communist control, but we were outdone.

Mr. MARRIAGE. You are satisfied it was under Communist control?

Mr. PICKENS. The Communists took it. That is the way I saw it. I may have been too innocent about it. We met in England. We arranged with non-Communists and tried to keep it from being absolutely Communist. They outdid us, because the people did not come. The second party in Germany was Communist at that time.

I want to tell you something about that congress, if you want to know.

Mr. MARRIAGE. Well, we have had testimony about that before from one of the leading Communists. We know that it was, as you have here stated so well, completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Mr. PICKENS. Before we left, and I wrote a report on it when I came back and stated the fact and said how we non-Communists were

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Mr. Matthews. I wanted to ask the witness a question. You made the statement that you would join anybody, without any qualification. If you could that you had some point of agreement. I am going to ask you if that would include the Nazi groups.

Mr. FAY: I did not say that I would join anything, we had a lot of agreement, because I have not met anybody that was so bad that we could disagree on anything. I would not join the Nazi Party, and I would not join the Communist Party. p. 2

Mr. MANNING: I am asking you about the Communist organizations operating in the State of New York.

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1001-1005.

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first copy that you saw carried on the mast-head, "The organ of the Communist Party of the United States"?

Mr. PICKENS. I can't say when—

Mr. STARNES. The only thing you can recall is that for at least 20 years you knew that?

Mr. PICKENS. For about 20 years I have known it was the Communist Party organization publication.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately 20 years?

Mr. PICKENS. Approximately 20 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was established in 1921.

Mr. PICKENS. Well, it is almost 20 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you at any time write to the Daily Worker itself and say the following:

This is one occasion for every Negro who has intelligence enough to read to send aid to you—

that is, to the Daily Worker?

Mr. PICKENS. No. Just a minute. The committee of the Daily Worker was taking up the *Scottsboro case*, and that was to send aid for the *Scottsboro boys* to help defend those boys. Our organization had not decided that they could take it up. Dr. Dubois and the rest of us thought maybe the boys are guilty. We decided we would not take it up. Later we took it up. When they were the only people trying to do anything, I would have sent \$3 to the devil, if they were trying to do something for those boys and help them get a day in court.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not sure I got the answer to my question. Let me repeat it and you answer it. Did you write a letter to the Daily Worker itself and say in that letter:

This is one occasion for every Negro who has intelligence enough to read to send aid to you—

Mr. PICKENS. If it is in connection with the *Scottsboro case*, but not aid to the Daily Worker for themselves. I have to make that distinction, because if they were taking up the case—does the letter there refer to the *Scottsboro case*, aid to you in this effort to defend the boys? I will have to stick to that, not aid to the Daily Worker. That sentence ought to be read in connection with the context, whatever it is, there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If the letter begins, "Dear Daily Worker," and then urges people to send aid "to you," it could not refer to anything but the Daily Worker.

Mr. PICKENS. There is nothing in the letter about the *Scottsboro boys*.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are other things in the letter, but that is not the point. The letter is addressed to the Daily Worker, is it not?

Mr. PICKENS. That is correct, but it is in connection with a matter that is not in the letter—in connection with helping these boys who needed it awfully bad.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does "you" refer to in the letter?

Mr. PICKENS. The Daily Worker, but in connection with the fight for these boys when nobody else was doing it. I can bring you many cases to get them out of it, when we saw they were going to make political propaganda out of it. There were plenty of letters in the United States to get them out of the case, to keep them from ruining

the boys, because they were trying to make Communist propaganda out of it. That was the very start, when nobody was interested.

Mr. STANLEY. I handed to the judge during the course of the trial a telegram from the I. L. D. I was in charge of the troops there to keep order. The letter will speak for itself. I assume you are going to have it in evidence. I do not think we need have any further colloquy about it.

Mr. PICKENS. Would it be possible for me to put something in the record there?

Mr. STANLEY. In what respect?

Mr. PICKENS. In connection with the Daily Worker and the others and this Scottsboro case, to show that when they started out they were the only defenders, and any of us that had the right heart to do something.

Mr. STANLEY. To summarize this whole thing, you do not deny writing the letter, but your defense is that it was in connection with the Scottsboro boys?

Mr. PICKENS. The Scottsboro boys and not the Daily Worker.

Mr. STANLEY. Let me summarize it, and I have heard enough, unless you have something else to bring out. To summarize it, you wrote the letter, but it is your contention that you wrote it as a defense or contribution to the defense of the boys in the Scottsboro case?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes; when there were no other defenders.

Mr. STANLEY. And you are stating that you did not write the letter for make the contribution to the support of the Daily Worker as a political or financial contribution of the verbiage in the letter?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes.

Mr. STANLEY. It is for this committee and the Kerr committee to determine that.

Mr. PICKENS. I have some things to show here.

Mr. STANLEY. You can add those as exhibits at the close of your testimony.

Mr. MARRINOW. Did you enclose an article to be inserted in the Daily Worker when you sent this letter?

Mr. PICKENS. I do not recall enclosing an article.

Mr. MARRINOW. The letter says, "Enclosed is an article."

Mr. PICKENS. I was writing to the Associated Negro Press, very briefly.

Mr. MARRINOW. In the fourth paragraph of this letter, you speak of the possibility that these Negro boys may be executed if they may not be executed depending upon the development of the case.

Mr. PICKENS. That is right.

Mr. MARRINOW. Then you close that paragraph with this sentence: "In either event, it will be a victory for the workers." Do you recall that?

Mr. PICKENS. "In either event"?

Mr. MARRINOW. Yes; whether they are executed or not executed.

Mr. PICKENS. It will be a victory for the workers if they fight so that they get a fair trial. In either event, if they fight to get a fair trial. That was a keen time. I was on the train in Illinois, and I picked up papers and the Daily Worker at that time was the only paper that had a fighting attitude toward the execution of these boys—the condition in which they were.

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I sent \$3 and I said, "Here is something to help out in this case." They had moved faster than anybody else up to that time. A few weeks later I found out they were making propaganda about it, and from a few weeks later right straight through the case I was fighting the Communists because they were making propaganda about it, defending the boys as they started out pleading to do.

Mr. Murray: I would like to make this observation. The witness stated that an alleged quotation about his speech in Philadelphia was in a regular Communist jargon and not his own language. I am not sure about that this viewpoint is correct here. In either case, the story for the worker was the most typical Communist propaganda material.

Mr. Murray: I am writing to a Communist paper. I am writing to them and use professional jargon and that was endorsing their defense of the Scottsboro boys.

Mr. Murray: I am writing to the Communist paper and the other side of the room would be the

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Mr. PIERCE. Yes, I spoke at the Congress Against War. It was
 Mr. HIDER was going strong.

The Daily Worker of October 2, 1953 refers to the speech made by Earl Browder and then in the paragraph under that it states that—

...of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is the only organization of the Negro and African American people in the United States. To the extent that the claim is a matter of public concern, the claim is a matter of public concern, and the claim is a matter of public concern.

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the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 35 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997).

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 1.1 billion in 1990 to 2.6 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase by 1.1 billion, from 350 million in 1990 to 1.4 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 15-64 is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 2.5 billion in 1990 to 4.0 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase by 1.1 billion, from 350 million in 1990 to 1.4 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 15-64 is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 2.5 billion in 1990 to 4.0 billion in 2010.

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Mr. Pickens, I spoke for them, and Mrs. Roosevelt had her name behind for some of them. I pulled out of their Rescue Ship proposition because of that Communist proposition. Our participation had no relation to the Communist Party. We went in the Spanish Loyalist move also, and the anti-Franco.

Mr. Pickens, in September of 1938, I was of New Mexico then. I was in the office of the Medical Bureau of the American Committee for Spanish Democracy.

Mr. Pickens, this was not at Manhattan Center. This was in the office of the American Committee for Spanish Democracy.

Mr. Pickens, I may have seen them. I don't know. I don't know. I don't know. I don't know.

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border when they went into Mexico, and white people with their chauffeurs had to leave \$500. Sometimes they got down there and the chauffeurs liked Mexican society so well they deserted, and the white people could not get the \$500. We had tried in every way to get that held up.

So our organization in St. Louis appealed to the counsel, Redman and Espe. I was going to Mexico with Redman and Espe. We were going to try to get this. We were trying to get that broken up. It was a great burden. Teachers had to leave \$500 at the border if they came out.

The Pan-American Democracy sent their secretary to my office and said, "We can straighten that out for you," and by George! they did it. They got something from the Mexican Government and brought it there. It was not a thing that this Government did. They were ordering it broken up.

I always argued for France and England, and they never argued for Germany, but they argued that France, England, and Germany were in the same boat. I knew they were radicals. I never asked them if they were Communists. They never asked me. Some of them were not Communists. Some of them were very intelligent people. But they did something which our conservative friends were not able to do. The head of it was a doctor with a long Spanish name who was a professor in one of the colleges in New York. I used to be a professor. He did that for us. That looked like Pan-American Democracy, if they could do that.

I had no political interest in his organization except to argue with him. They never put me on any of their programs when they wanted big speakers. They had two or three meetings while I was connected with them, but they never put me on, because they knew my sentiments. Nobody ever even called the name of Communism to me when I went to one of two of their meetings.

Mr. MARRAS: Have you ever seen a copy of the letter which I show you, on the official stationery of the Communist Party of U. S. A. [handing a document to the witness]?

Mr. PICKENS: Yes. I have got those two articles here that I wrote for the New Masses. One of them they did not publish.

When I was in Spain down in Barcelona, another American there, hearing me talk, knew that I was an American. We were trying to get some real money. He said, "I am from the United States also." He did not tell me he was a Communist or connected with the New Masses; just an American.

I told him I was with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He said, "You are Pickens." He said, "I will communicate with you when I get back."

When I got back I got a letter from Joe North. I doubt that he was going by that name in Spain.

He said, "I met you in Spain and I want you to write something on Negroes' opposition against fascism." I had an idea what he wanted, and I sat down and wrote an article, which is right here, which I knew he could not publish.

He said, "I have a good many Negro readers in New Masses."

The paragraph on page 2 of my article would explain to you why I knew he could not publish it. I wrote another article to contrast fascism with communism. I wanted to contrast it with democracy.

He said, "I can't publish that first one."

I wrote another one, contrasting fascism with democracy, and it is here, too. I never used the word "communism," and, of course, he published that, because it was a good article, and a lot of Negro papers carried it.

"I would not mind reading it to you, which is quite enlightening about my attitude in that first article. There is something I wish you would put in this record. It is my attitude toward the *Scottsboro case*."

(Letter from William Pickens to the editor of the *Republican* was marked "Pickens Exhibit 1.")

Mr. PICKENS: There is another one here, *The Fight Against Fascism*.

Mr. MATTHEWS: Before we leave this letter, I wanted to ask you if you were aware of the fact that the Communist Party exploited the fact that you wrote for the *New Masses*, in order to obtain subscriptions for the *New Masses*?

Mr. PICKENS: No; I have never seen that before. They do things like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS: This is a letter signed by Earl Browder, soliciting subscriptions for the *New Masses*. One of the grounds on which a subscription to the magazine is solicited is that you are a contributor.

Mr. PICKENS: Yes [continuing to read]:

By training and by temperament I am a Democrat, believing in the compromise of the ballot after agitation and discussion, and having no favor for class warfare. Narrow discipline never suited me. Therefore, although I could work toward these universal ends side by side with any humans, I could never become a member of minority political parties, with the limitations implied. Some of the people with whom I worked, made the mistake of many—seeming to think that a man could not look upon "radicals" as being simply human beings without being one of the radicals. From these I expected opposition, ignorant opposition. Soon I was to find also that with the radicals I was a "marked man," because I did not and could not agree with them in all things. Like Roger Baldwin I took the right which I accorded: the right to disagree in any detail. When I got to the great Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany—

I told him how they came to invite me to talk 45 minutes—the non-Communists, who had a right to bring their people. When I got there they had a plot to keep me from speaking at all, and I heard about it. They had a colored man ready—Patterson—ready to tear up what I was ready to say in 8 or 10 minutes, because they were going to ring the bell on me. Someone I knew had talked to some of the radicals and told me what they were planning to do. I did another little bit of Uncle Remus. I said, "I have my speech in both German and English. I said, 'I am going to use German again, because Patterson does not know a word of German.'"

The next day, I started speaking, and the Russians tried to ring me down and got excited, because the Germans, 15,000 of them, were there and began to hang onto it. He tried to ring me down. The audience threatened to tear the place apart unless they let me finish my speech.

I told him that. He could not understand that. If you work with radicals, in anything you agree with them they take advantage of it and the other people think you are a radical, because they look at radicals as one kind of human beings. I said, "I am with the radicals or anything else against fascism, but the other objectives I do not agree with"; and he would not publish it.

There was another one on "The Negro Must Be Anti-Fascist." It is a good article and all the Negro papers carried it. It contrasts fascism with democracy and has things in it that anybody would endorse.

I never saw this letter. They naturally used a letter. It is a pretty good article. They carried it. Here it is for your record, if you want it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you deliver a lecture at the Workers School on or about November 10, 1939?

Mr. PICKENS. I delivered one lecture there. They were a half block from my office. I do not know who carried it or who advertised it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The New Masses of November 14, 1939, has an announcement to the effect that there will be a lecture by Mr. William Pickens, director of branches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on Friday, November 10, 8 p. m., at the Workers School. You knew that the Workers School was the official training school of the Communist Party?

Mr. PICKENS. No; when you say I knew, that is different. I have no doubt that they were a radical group, but we were not interested in that. What I talked to them about was not their radicalism or communism. Maybe in the current case, whatever the case we had or were dealing with—and they were white people and we let them listen—and then I would always stand up for England and France, whatever the struggle was against fascism, and never agreed with them and would not expect to.

I have to say to you gentlemen: I was known as a speaker for all these things. Everybody wanted to hear me, whether they were Communists, Republicans, or Democrats. They asked me to speak. I was listed in the Congressional Record as a lecturer for the Workers School.

I passed there four times a day, and the only time I went in there was to deliver this speech, after many invitations, which, of course, is a thing I would be likely to do again if I was not working for the Government. Then I was just an American, with my rights as an American.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a sponsor of the Spanish refugee-relief campaign?

Mr. PICKENS. That is connected with the Spanish thing. I suppose I sponsored it for a while. Then we found out that the good lady was from the Friends Service Committee. We found out that there was something wrong about it. Mrs. Roosevelt had done something. I called up John Haynes Holmes, who had been on it. I called him up. He was a friend of mine and a fine American. I called him up.

I said, "Look here—this thing we are on." He said, "I am resigning."

I got out. We were interested in the Spanish business, and we found out they were using it for something else. We were a little doubtful what they were doing with the money. We resigned.

Mr. STARNES. What was your particular interest in the Spanish situation? Was it anything other than what you said a while ago—that after the unwarranted, the unjust, and brutal aggression of the Italian national against Ethiopia you would join with any group to fight the Italians?

Mr. PICKENS. Without regard to their politics on the other side. We were not for the Italians. It was only incidental that I went down to Spain. I was going to Europe. They said, "Are you going to Spain?" I said, "No, the passports do not allow us in Spain." They said, "We belong to the medical bureau."

I got in it so I could see about the colored business.

Mr. STANLEY. After you made the trip you continued sponsoring some of these organizations?

Mr. PICKENS. All I did was to see what I saw in Barcelona and the bombing. It had no relation to politics. In fact, I never bothered about the politics over there. There was one official there, for example, in Barcelona, who helped me to see the bureau of the Loyalists.

Mr. STANLEY. You understand now, and we all do, that there was one faction in Spain backed by Hitler and Mussolini, and another backed by Russia?

Mr. PICKENS. Surely; and, just as I am now against the Italians, at that time I would have preferred the Russian side.

Mr. STANLEY. What interests and intrigues me is that after you went over there and saw what the situation was, then you permitted yourself to become a sponsor and a leader and a speaker in numerous or several groups who were interesting themselves in the Spanish situation.

Mr. PICKENS. But not in politics of the Communist Party. It was not then. I don't think that all of the people who favored the anti-Franco side were Communists.

Mr. STANLEY. Not necessarily so; but at the same time, as we know, the Radio City in this country on all of the organizations—on every organization—did interested themselves in that Spanish situation.

Mr. PICKENS. It has become clearer.

Mr. STANLEY. The letterhead of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign which contains a letter dated January 14, 1940, has the name of William Pickens as sponsor.

Mr. STANLEY. Is that true?

Mr. PICKENS. We were with the Negro committee that was trying to help the anti-Franco and anti-Fascist and anti-Franco side to balance the other side. I got up in an ambulance in New York that day. But I don't know what to do with politics.

Mr. STANLEY. Were you a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights?

Mr. PICKENS. I was one of three or four organizations now which if they brought them to the United States—a Conference on Inalienable Rights—would be a violation of Communism—sponsorship meant that we had to make sure that we would want them to go there and listen to the going on. Perhaps I gave them my name as a sponsor. I don't know them or know anything about it.

Mr. STANLEY. But you did lend your name there?

Mr. PICKENS. I said I need my name.

Mr. STANLEY. Let him see it.

Mr. STANLEY. This is the official program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, which has you listed.

Mr. PICKENS. Where was it held?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York.

Mr. PICKENS. Was it a hotel?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Society for Ethical Culture.

Mr. PICKENS. I did not go to it, then. I was not there. It has been a longer time than that since I have been in there.

Mr. MASON. Do you not realize that any person who has been as prominent as you have been among your people, who permits his name to be used as a sponsor, is practically recommending to his people that they at least give consideration to this committee where you might have had the objectives of the committee in mind? Your people in following your lead would become dupes and susceptible to that organization, which is placing them in a dangerous position, because they all do not have as keen an intellect and cannot see the danger as someone like you might have been able to; and it was at least, shall we say, a culpable attitude of yours in permitting those things to occur so often.

Mr. PICKENS. Not so often; not as often as seems here. We sponsored many things, and most of those were perfectly American. Sponsorship did not mean that we recommended what an organization is going to say. We might say, "Read this and consider it." That means they are going to have a conference. That was on inalienable rights. We say, "Go there and take part in it and agree or disagree with it." That is because we were asking them—the N. A. A. P.—at many of our meetings. We were saying, "Go there and see what they have to say." We could not investigate, because we had no funds or money to find out what politics they had, but the idea was not to sponsor what they had to say.

Mr. MASON. I am not saying that your idea was, I am saying that the general impression would be, that when you permitted your name to be used that was bait to attract your people to be exposed to their policy, and it was rather a dangerous thing.

Mr. PICKENS. I understand, but as an American—and that is another thing, and I have been an American ever since I followed George Washington—and as an American we were never taught to be very much afraid. As an American out there, somebody wants to bite him. I have listened to fellows I could not agree with. We said to go ahead and listen to their program, especially when it is a history-book name, a conference on inalienable rights.

Mr. MASON. Of course, you understand that they use just such attractive names in order to attract?

Mr. PICKENS. Just as they used the *Semtexboro* case in order to build it up. We know that. We knew that kind of thing. You do not know, sir, how many things we turn down. Generally, when we went into one of these things, it was because we probably saw some names like Rabbi Wise, Franz Bous, who was a great friend of the colored people, whatever you might think of his anthropology. When we saw a citizen that we knew was a good citizen, we said, "We will go there and get them to help us."

Mr. MASON. As a teacher in a small community and trying to set an example, there were many things that would never hurt me and that would have been a good example for adults, but there were many things that I could not do because the youngsters in the community

might follow in my footsteps. You were in the same position. As a leader of your people, they looked up to you; and I would say you did not always protect impressionable, naive members of your race from these dangerous philosophies.

Mr. Picatus. I understand; and do you know that the Communist leaders of this country regard me as the most effective barrier that they have met in the Negro race, because they know very well—

Mr. Mason. In spite of the aid and comfort you have given them by lending your name to many of their front organizations?

Mr. Picatus. Exactly; because they know I know them well, and they know I would not yield on any point against democracy or against the interests of the colored people or for communism. I don't think Earl Browder ever wrote my name on a money-gathering sheet like that and he knew I was not a Communist.

Mr. Mason. I cannot follow that logic or that reasoning. I cannot understand why my name would want to use as a trap, apparently, and use my name if it meant anything in the way of prestige and influence in his hunger for money and if he knew it would destroy his endeavor. That just does not make sense. That is like saying you will do the devil to be with Christ. That is what it means to me.

Mr. Picatus. That was logic in my personal community. I would have been in the same position. If I had been in the same position with the church, there would have been a lot of people who would have been in the same position.

Mr. Mason. And every time you have been in the same position, you have been in the same position.

Mr. Picatus. I have been in the same position.

Mr. Mason. And every time you have been in the same position, you have been in the same position.

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Mr. Picatus. I have been in the same position.

Mr. Mason. And every time you have been in the same position, you have been in the same position.

me down on their list, but this meeting is what they brought up to us. I know they have me in the list.

Mr. Matthews. As a sponsor of the organization.

Mr. Pickens. Had they had the organization yet or are they going to have it at the meeting?

Mr. Matthews. No; the organization was established before.

Mr. Pickens. But it was established under a different name, but this inalienable rights meeting would be the thing that we would be sponsoring—that is, put our names down as sponsors.

Mr. Matthews. Were you a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. Pickens. That was in our line. We were helping the foreign born to help out with the Negro. Here was somebody who wanted to do something to protect the foreign born.

Mr. Matthews. On the letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, dated March 1940, there is a list of sponsors which contains the name of William Pickens as one of them.

Mr. Starnes. He admits he was.

Mr. Matthews. The New Masses of April 2, 1940, published an open letter to the President protesting against various activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice that had to do with apprehending Communists. The document carried his name as one of the signers.

Mr. Pickens. I have not seen the document, but they doubtless submitted it to me to read, because I would not sign anything I would not read, but it certainly says anything of any kind or to do with Communism, or of course with the general process of dealing with any defense organization, or anything of the kind. We were all wrapped up in that.

Mr. Starnes. I am sure that he did sign this or that; he was a sponsor, but he has given his reason for it.

Mr. Matthews. And the specific occasion was that the Attorney General at that time had called a grand jury to investigate Communist activities. The grand jury was meeting here, and this group in its petition to the President alleges that this constituted a badgering of Communists in the language.

Mr. Pickens. That was in our line. We were helping the foreign born, but that doubtless the kind of thing we would sign in our organization.

Mr. Matthews. Would it be your view that there should not be a grand jury investigation of Communist activities?

Mr. Pickens. No, not at all; that is what is written in the article, that I agree with the signatories in it, but that there should not be a grand jury investigation of anything or anybody.

Mr. Starnes. The question in the letter was a protest against the grand jury investigation of the Communists.

Mr. Matthews. Yes.

Mr. Starnes. Who else sponsored it?

Mr. Matthews. It is a very long list.

Mr. Starnes. Were there any Communists?

Mr. Matthews. Oh, yes. The list is quite well-pickled with prominent Communists.

Mr. Pickens. And non-Communists. I was with them.

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UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

names: Theodore Dreiser, Franklin D. Roosevelt, William L. Marbury, George Seldes, Donald Ogden Stewart, and Robinson. If you know of 9 or 10 others who have been in Communist records or have been in Communist organizations, then the committee will

[illegible]

of the Mexican Government asking us to create a sentiment to see that this man got a fair trial and did not get done off in jail.

It was the most normal thing to sign. They did not put him forward as a Communist. I suspected that he was one of the radicals like that, but that did not say he was a Communist. I would have been sympathetic with his having a fair trial.

Mr. STANES. Have you ever known anybody except a Communist or a Fascist or a Nazi or somebody who is not an American to interest himself in forming an organization with reference to the conduct of trials, et cetera, when alleged to have violated State laws in some other nations? Did you ever know of a prominent Democrat or Republican or a prominent American citizen who was a member of these alien-inspired organizations, who interested himself in the trials or courts of other countries?

Mr. PICKENS. I have known of such cases, but it was professional, through the Civil Liberties Union. I have seen people there who were not at all Communists, who were interested in these people.

Mr. STANES. I can understand that. You have known them through the American Civil Liberties Union, but as a usual rule it is somebody with an international viewpoint and more interested in interfering with the affairs of the other nation than looking after abstract justice at home.

Mr. MARRIAGE. I will ask the witness to comment on this. Luiz Carlos Prestes, on whose behalf the witness signed this letter, was the Communist International's representative in Brazil. He organized and led an armed insurrection against the Brazilian Government and for that act was arrested, tried, and convicted; and it was for his freedom after that conviction that this letter was sent to the President of Brazil.

Mr. PICKENS. Of course, they did not say anything about that.

Mr. MARRIAGE. You do not know about that?

Mr. PICKENS. No; they did not say anything about that, but whatever he was charged with, they wanted him to get a fair trial and not be killed in jail, and they presented a memorandum to the Mexican Government. To get him a fair trial would not disqualify a man's Americanism, even if they had said he has been a rebel.

Mr. STANES. You have testified here under oath that you were a member of many of these organizations, served on their executive boards, been an official, your name and prestige as a leader of your race were used by these organizations, and you have protested over and over again that all you were interested in was seeing that there was a fair trial under what you deemed to be American procedure.

Mr. PICKENS. Surely.

Mr. STANES. Have any of these organizations, that have been named and identified for the public record and of which you were a member, ever asked you to sign a letter or sign a protest against the conviction or the trial or the execution without trial of prisoners in Russia at any time? Can you name a single, solitary instance in which any one of these organizations here ever protested against the execution or the imprisonment of a single Russian?

Mr. PICKENS. This particular organization, I don't remember that.

Mr. STANES. Or any of the others?

Mr. PICKENS. The others—I did not sign letters for protesting against treatment of prisoners. We were always on that other side,

ON AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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just where you were, against that Russian procedure against those

Mr. M. M. Will you read that again, because I gathered from that statement you read, making him to comment on it, that this letter was written after the man had been tried and convicted and sentenced.

Mr. M. M. That is correct.

Mr. M. M. Which then would not have anything to do with his

Read it again.

that we signed was that he should get a

that they presented the situation in order to

not against the execution of a convicted

was supposed to be read and not considered.

and appeal.

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Mr. PICKENS. That some action be taken against the Government, as it was presented to us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The last sentence states:

We do so in the firm conviction that his release will serve the cause of democracy and liberty in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Pickens: Yes; democracy and liberty.

Mr. Matthews. There is no intimation in the letter that he is in danger of being murdered.

Mr. STARNES. I suppose it was for the same reason that a lot of American citizens have interested themselves in the political situation in North Africa.

Dr. Pickens

Mr. Matthews. On or about December 19, 1940, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties published an appeal on behalf of Sam Darcy, which published appeal carries the name of William Pickens as one of the signers. Did you sign that appeal?

Q. Now, I suppose so. I remember the name Darcy. Don't you think they were asking us to do things that we were always asked to do? To sign an appeal for him for justice, to get justice, to make a deal and get a fair trial; get an American deal—that was the only interest we had in it.

Who was Sam Percy and what is involved here?

Don't you know who Sam Darcy was?

...learned who he was. I did not know then
...in prison. They presented it as a man who was
...in California. We know a lot about California
...fair trial in California. To stop a nation

1950

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

...the testimony consisted of the fact that he swore that he

... they did not say that. They did say...

It's not how to make your intelligence, but you

...and alleged that he

Mr. Chairman, you will admit that in many

... things which they could not investigate
... to them and they had faith in them, and

...the individual case, we had had.

Q. We did the same thing sometimes.

With the American League Against War and Fascism.

1970-1971

UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

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Mr. PICKENS. We went into that when it was the Congress Against War. Mr. Matthews reminded me, which I did not know about, that he resigned 24 hours before I did. We resigned because the Communists were getting control of it. We found later that we could not stay in it.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is all we have. Is there any further statement you care to make?

Mr. PICKENS. The statement which I made for the other committee. I did not know I was going to have the honor of meeting this committee. I have that statement, and if you want to put it in the record all right. It is addressed to the other committee.

Mr. STARNES. Is that Judge Kerr's committee?

Mr. PICKENS. Congressman Kerr's committee.

Mr. STARNES. Have you appeared before the Kerr committee yet?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. This is the statement I prepared for them.

Mr. STARNES. You prepared it for them?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes. It is here if you want to put it in the record.

Mr. STARNES. Just attach it as an exhibit.

Mr. PICKENS. Exhibit 27.

Mr. STARNES. That is a Sanza now that in a good many

ways was an American and a free

man. He was a member of the United States Gov-

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(Article referring to Hands Off China conference was marked "Pickens Exhibit 3.")

(Article referring to Philadelphia Hands Off China conference was marked "Pickens Exhibit 4.")

(Article referring to American Anti-Imperialist League was marked "Pickens Exhibit 5.")

(Article referring to International Labor Defense was marked "Pickens Exhibit 6.")

(Article referring to League Against Fascism was marked "Pickens Exhibit 7.")

(Article referring to Daily Worker was marked "Pickens Exhibit 8.")

(Article referring to Prisoners Relief Fund was marked "Pickens Exhibit 9.")

(Article referring to National Organizing Committee, United States Congress Against War, was marked "Pickens Exhibit 9-A.")

(Article referring to United States Congress Against War was marked "Pickens Exhibit 10.")

(Article referring to American League Against War and Fascism was marked "Pickens Exhibit 11.")

(Article referring to Fight Against War and Fascism was marked "Pickens Exhibit 12.")

(Article referring to Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, was marked "Pickens Exhibit 13.")

(Article referring to Medical Bureau, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, was marked "Pickens Exhibit 14.")

(Article referring to Conference on Pan American Democracy was marked "Pickens Exhibit 15.")

(Article referring to Communist Party of the United States of America was marked "Pickens Exhibit 16.")

(Article referring to Workers School was marked "Pickens Exhibit 17.")

(Article referring to Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was marked "Pickens Exhibit 18.")

(Article referring to Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights was marked "Pickens Exhibit 19.")

(Article referring to American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born was marked "Pickens Exhibit 20.")

(Article referring to open letter in New Masses was marked "Pickens Exhibit 21.")

(Article referring to American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was marked "Pickens Exhibit 22.")

(Article referring to American Rescue Ship Mission was marked "Pickens Exhibit 23.")

(Article referring to Daily Worker was marked "Pickens Exhibit 24.")

(Article referring to Council for Pan American Democracy was marked "Pickens Exhibit 25.")

(Article referring to National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was marked "Pickens Exhibit 26.")

(At 12 noon the subcommittee went into executive session.)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
CERTIFICATION OF AUTHENTICITY

b6
b7C

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7-14-82

June 30 - July 3, 1952



Daily

Control Organ of the

(Section of the Com)

Vol. VIII, No. 99

NEW YORK

Who Are the "Bandits"?

REGARDING the charge by Hoover, that the Nicaraguan Army of Liberation, led by Sandino, are "bandits," Congressman W. Ayres of Kansas who incidentally, is for more intervention, accidentally exposes this lie while arguing for a "firmer" policy. He said:

"We have been chasing the Sandinista forces, which may be designated either as rebels against the government imposed on them by ourselves, or as bandits. Invariably the people in power choose the latter designation for those who are in arms against them."

But we do not need to go to capitalist authority to prove the hypocrisy of Hoover. His outrageous characterization of an oppressed people who have been fighting for 15 years against Yankee invasions as "bandits—outside the civilized pale," because they have killed eight or nine American agents of imperialism, is sufficiently answered by the hundreds and thousands of dead Nicaraguans, men, women and children, massacred by invading marines, whose bones are rotting in the soil of their native land!

Who are these Americans, killed by soldiers under Sandino? They are plantation bosses and slave-drivers of the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company, they are agents of the blood-suckers of Wall Street, backed by the invading Yankee marines. It is these agents of imperialism, armed and otherwise—it is Hoover himself who is the bandit!

The Army of Liberation led by Sandino, is fully justified in killing every imperialist agent engaged in enslaving the Nicaraguan people. And in the measure in which Sandino is carrying out a policy of armed struggle to drive Yankee imperialism out of Nicaragua, he and his forces must and will receive the enthusiastic support of the workers of the United States.

We, the American workers, know how hypocritical is Hoover's pretended concern for "American lives." At the very moment he mouths this hypocrisy, nine other American citizens, Negro workers, are being railroaded to the electric chair at Prattville, Alabama. Five workers face death in a notorious frame-up at Paterson! Mooney and Hillings die slowly in prison! Sacco and Vanzetti lie murdered. From the mines of Ludlow, Colorado, still echo the cries of 14 women and children murdered by the bullets owned by Rockefeller!

The countless victims of American capitalism rise from their grave to hurl back into the face of the hypocrite in the White House the charge of "murderer." The workers of the United States dare not even approach the gates of the White House to demand bread for the millions of starving and semi-starving jobs, without meeting gas bombs, Blackjacks, clubs and machine guns and against them by this scoundrel who dares to call people fighting for national freedom "bandits!"

Today, the Army of Liberation, commanded by Sandino, is in battle and is shedding its blood for national liberation. We, the workers of the United States, support that struggle with every means at our command. While we have repeatedly pointed out the past vacillations of Sandino himself toward compromising the struggle, while we have criticized his failure to raise the material demands of the masses, such as land for the peasants; while we realize that the struggle can finally be won only by proletarian leadership headed by a Communist Party, we urge the workers of the United States to rally every possible aid to the armed struggle of Sandino's Army of Liberation.

How despicably false, abhorrent and hypocritical Hoover's talk of "bandits" is: how vile the deceit about "withdrawal of marines," can be seen not only in Nicaragua, but also in Haiti! For nearly 20 years Yankee marines have been slaughtering the Haitian people! Their last massacre was late in 1929. "Peace"—the peace of a cemetery, was established. There were no more "bandits" and today there are none.

But in spite of the protest made in 1934 and a half hour to American American armed forces, they are still in Haiti! And today there is a new threat of serious disorders. When it comes, when the Haitian peasants they must rise!—the unwavering hypocrite in the White House will doubtless blubber about "bandits!"

Away with imperialism! On May Day—and afterward, let the armed workers of Nicaragua to drive imperialist bandits from their shores! All aid to the struggle of Sandino's Army of Liberation! Down with imperialism!

William Pickens Hails United White and Negro Workers as Negro Victims of Boss Control

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Telephone: LEXINGTON 4-6616

April 10, 1931
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Daily Worker:

I am writing from Kansas City, where I was of the Daily Worker for April 10th and the workers are making, thru I.L.D., to the 1st assembly of Negro youth in Alabama.

Enclosed is a small check for that same to I.L.D. in enclosed stamped envelope.

The promptness with which the white workers are defending these helpless and innocent black workers, is significant and shows an ultimate salvation for black and white united defense, one of the other, either may do a good work, but all other cause is preliminary to that consummation. The final security is the absolute and unshakable co-operation of ALL WORKERS, of all the across all race and color lines and all of

In the present case the Daily Worker has moved so far more speedily and effectively agencies put together. If you do not permit committing these horrible murders, you are working people, white and black, to the aid and the need of union. In either event it is for the workers.

Enclosed is an article which I had written abilities of the case when I received the details thru the lying daily press. They but that as the only way, out of my eyes are Negro, that I could make sanity out of see by the reports of the investigations agents that I was not so far wrong, and my conclusion that these children are innocent are framed.

This is one occasion for every Negro to give enough to read, to send aid to you and

Very sincerely

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE—Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK.—William Pickens, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a letter to the Daily Worker, photostat copy of which

Mother of Haye on Way to N.Y.

Worker

Communist Party U.S.A.

(United International)

WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

Pacific Coast May-Day Edition
In Two Sections—Section One

DAY, APRIL 24, 1931

CITY EDITION

Price 3 Cents

Struggle of
Save 9 Young
Lynch Verdict

MICHIGAN, IND., OHIO JOBLESS BASE HUNGER MARCH ON MAY 1 MEETS

Why the Bosses Fear May Day
Demonstrations This Year

Demonstrations Rally All
For Demand That the
Hungry Be Relieved

And Why Every Worker Should Mobilize for
A Gigantic Outpouring May 1st to Smash
Wage Cut Drive and Fight Unemployment

Intensive Organization
Hold Michigan United Front
Conference May 10

DOAK ADMITS BIG
BANKERS ARE FOR
R. R. WAGE CUTS

But Hides His Role In
Pay Slashing

WASHINGTON, April 23.—Secretary of Labor William N. Doak is advancing the wage-cutting drive on the railroads by lying about it. The plan for pay cuts on all railroads has become so open that Doak was forced to say something about the matter. He admitted that the leading bankers who run the railroads are for wage cuts, but Doak assured the workers "there was nothing to it."

Appointed To Head Bankers

This is precisely the reason he was appointed to the position of Secretary of Labor. His job is to keep the workers from realizing the danger while the wage cut drive is perfected and put into effect.

If there was such a thing as a properly fixed wage rate for the year...

May Day was established by the American workers and later adopted internationally by the revolutionary working class organizations as the day of struggle against capitalism for the betterment of the conditions of the worker and as a mass expression of the struggle for the final overthrow of capitalism.

May Day is deeply rooted in the revolutionary tradition of the workers. It has a history of struggle in victory of successful mobilization of international opposition of capitalists.

This May Day the capitalists fear the May Day demonstration more than ever before. The May Day demonstration is a powerful weapon against the capitalist world. It is a day when the workers of the world, throughout the capitalist world, throughout the United States, throughout the world, will march on the capitalists.

In the Soviet Union the May Day demonstration is a day when the workers of the world, throughout the capitalist world, throughout the United States, throughout the world, will march on the capitalists.

Three state hunger marches, with a possibility of another, are now arranged for May. With the mass demonstration of unemployed workers on May First, an international demonstration...

do not only in the world to back them, but also endorsed by the workers of the world. It will march on the capitalists throughout Indiana and Michigan.

Masses hungry. The hunger strike is a powerful weapon against the capitalist world. It is a day when the workers of the world, throughout the capitalist world, throughout the United States, throughout the world, will march on the capitalists.

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Masses hungry. The hunger strike is a powerful weapon against the capitalist world. It is a day when the workers of the world, throughout the capitalist world, throughout the United States, throughout the world, will march on the capitalists.

Wood Patterson

Holt Duff...

How despicably false, slanderous and hypocritical Hoover's talk of "bandits" is; how vile the deceit about "withdrawal of marines" can be seen not only in Nicaragua, but also in Haiti. For nearly 30 years Yankee marines have been slaughtering the Haitian people. Their last massacre was late in 1935. "Peace"—the peace of a cemetery, was established. There were no more "bandits" and today there are none.

But in spite of the promises made a year and a half ago to withdraw American armed forces, they are still in Haiti! And today there is a new "threat of serious disorders." When it comes, when the Haitian peasants and workers are no longer able to tolerate Yankee rule and rise in arms—as they must rise!—the unrepentable hypocrite in the White House will doubtless blather about "bandits!"

Away with imperialist lies! On May Day—and afterward let the American workers raise the banner—Hands Off Nicaragua! Pull support to the armed workers of Nicaragua to drive imperialist bandits from their shores! All aid to the struggle of Sandino's Army of Liberation! Down with imperialism!

FIGHTING SHOE, NEEDLE AND FOOD WORKERS MOBILIZING FOR MAY 1

Workers Will Rally by the Thousands to the Communist Party Demonstration After Union Square at Bronx Coliseum

The shoe and leather workers of New York now engaged in bitter struggle against the bosses and the company union, socialist and their boot and shoe agents won a number of strikes today and signed up for the union, the Columbia Slipper Co., Kaiser Bros., W. Irwin, and others. The strikers are represented in the United Front May Day Conference and decided enthusiastically to participate in a body with their strike banners and slogans in the May Day demonstration. A strike was called today by the Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union in the Ballick and Seamen Co. shop where the shop committee elected by the workers was discharged. These strikers will also march in a body in the May Day parade. They will join the monster mass demonstration and struggle on Union Square of the New York working class against wage cuts, the brutal speed-up and long hours. The Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union has issued a appeal to all shoe, slipper and leather workers, organized and unorganized, to rally to Madison Square at 12:30 p. m. on May Day and to the Bronx Coliseum after the parade.

The militant, fighting Food Workers' Industrial Union now conducting 7 strikes against the long hours and miserable wages forced upon by the bosses and underworld A. F. L. and socialist racketeers, are mobilizing in greater numbers than ever before, for the May Day demonstration. Twenty-five thousand leaflets were issued by the militant union to all the food workers. The executive council of the union decided to have bands of music and placards. A mobilization meeting was called by the union, on Wednesday, April 26, to make final plans for the organized participation of the entire membership of the union, and for rallying the unemployed food workers, in the big food shops, hotels, restaurants and cafeterias for a "placard display of working class solidarity on May Day in the struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief, for equal pay and equal work for men and women."

and young workers, against the wage slashing campaign of the bosses. The Food Workers' Union is taking steps tonight to organize a strong defense corps to protect the marching lines of the thousands of food workers expected to parade and participate in the demonstration in Madison Square and march to Union Square. All next week meetings will be held in all the union shops and the various sections of the city to make final preparations for the demonstration. The union is paying particular attention to Brooklyn where many strikes, led by the union, are in progress. The food strikers will make May First a mighty day of struggle and solidarity of the entire working class at Madison Square and Bronx Coliseum in the evening.

Rally to the demonstration at Madison Square at 12:30 p. m. March to Union Square. Mobilize in large numbers for the Communist Party May Day demonstration after the parade at Union Square at Bronx Coliseum, 177th St., Bronx. Nationally prominent speakers will talk on the great significance of this May Day as the day of mobilization of the international working class and the workers of America, against hunger, against capitalism, against the imperialist intervention plot against the Soviet Union, for the defense of the fatherland of the world's working class, against colonial oppression and imperialist mass murder of the workers and peasants of China, Nicaragua, Honduras and all the colonies and semi-colonies under the iron heel of Yankee imperialism, for the destruction of capitalism, for a workers' and farmers' government.

Rally to the Bronx Coliseum. A splendid revolutionary program and a mass pageant has been arranged. Get your tickets in advance.

F. S. U. MEET TONIGHT

The Friends of the Soviet Union will hold an open membership meeting at Webster Hall tonight. Gold will speak on "The Situation in the Soviet Union."

This is one occasion for every Negro how use place enough to read, to send aid to you and to Very sincerely yours

NEW YORK—William P. Pickens, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a letter to the Daily Worker, photostatic copy of which is published in this issue, rails the promptness with which white and Negro workers under the leadership of the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights moved to the defense of the nine young Negro victims of the Scottsboro case court lynch verdict.

In his letter, Pickens admits that the only guarantee against the Negro and white workers in the united front of the mass revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party and its allies and the revolutionary mass organizations.

In a call upon the Negro masses to support the Scottsboro Defense Campaign, organized jointly by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense, Mr. Pickens says: "This is one occasion for every Negro who has intelligence enough to read, to send aid to you and to the I.L.D."

While Pickens has come out in this letter in defense of the nine Scottsboro victims, his organization still maintains an official alliance in the face of this murderous frame-up and railroad of Negro boys to the electric chair that amounts to open cooperation with the Southern race lynchings on the part of J. E. "Burrhead" Jim Crow advocate who was recently elected president of the N. A. A. C. P., Walter White, Dr. Du Bois, Robert W. Dunnell, Daisy E. Langston, Herbert J. Seligman, Rev. John Wesley Johnson, Rev. John Haynes Holmes and other officials of the N. A. A. C. P.

Mother of Haywood on Way to N.Y. to

Chatta. Ministers Alliance, Bosse and Their NAA Trying to Knife

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 22.—Mother of Haywood Patterson, one of the victims of the Scottsboro boys court case, is on her way to New York City tomorrow afternoon for New York City Struggle for Negro Rights and the Labor in mobilizing the workers to stop the legal murder of her son and the eight other boys.

The hearing on the motion for a new trial in the Haywood Patterson case comes up on May 1. The parents of the Chattanooga boys were approached and threatened by the Ministers Alliance on whom pressure has been brought by the bosses and the N. A. A. C. P. in an attempt to get them to renounce the I. L. D. All parents refused and today vigorously re-affirmed their faith in the defense work of the I. L. D.

Mr. Patterson told the press that he said that "an organization that put out two lawyers from New York just for a job and that the I. L. D. had been honest from the very beginning being the only organization individual that ever came to the parents and defended the case for them, and asked that question."

(Continued on page 10)

Investigation of Work Among Indicates That Drastic Cor

(By ALFRED WAGENETZKY)

For the purpose of initiating local struggles and fighting for immediate relief for starving families, the New York district decided to concentrate in Harlem, the immense Negro territory of New York City. I visited the Harlem membership branch of unemployed workers two weeks ago. The question of carrying on a neighborhood investigation to ascertain the starvation conditions of Harlem families, to enter struggles against the city government for immediate relief for these families as part of a city-wide fight for food for the hungry, the opening of a campaign of the unemployed workers' branch.

Losing Instead of Winning First and Relief

The unemployed workers' branch, the unemployed, now growing in size, the district decided to carry on a neighborhood investigation to ascertain the starvation conditions of Harlem families, to enter struggles against the city government for immediate relief for these families as part of a city-wide fight for food for the hungry, the opening of a campaign of the unemployed workers' branch.

one occasion for every Negro man who has intelligence to read, to send aid to you for the I.L.D.

Very sincerely yours,

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 30 - July 3, 1931

Mother of Haywood Patterson on Way to N. Y. to Help Defense

Chatta. Ministers All Oppose, Under Pressure of Boose and Their NAACP Tools Are Trying to Ruin Defense

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., June 23.—Mrs. Claude Patterson, mother of Haywood Patterson, one of the nine Negro youth victims of the Scottsboro case, left here this morning for New York City to help the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense in mobilizing the workers to stop the legal murder of her son and the eight other boys.

The hearing on the motion for a new trial in the Haywood Patterson case comes up on Monday.

The parents of the Chattanooga boys were approached and threatened last night by the Ministers Alliance, an organization which has been known to the league and the R. A. A. C. as an attempt to get them to repudiate the I. L. D. All parents refused and today vigorously re-affirmed their faith in the defense work of the I. L. D.

Mr. Patterson told the press today that "an organization, the I. L. D. and two lawyers from New York just for a while and that the I. L. D. had been honest from the very beginning being the only organization or individual that ever came to the defense and defended the boys, and that, and asked their cooperation."

recovery on their part.

VICTIM'S MOTHER IN HARLEM TONITE

NEW YORK.—Mrs. Patterson, mother of Haywood Patterson, one of the nine Scottsboro victims of the Scottsboro case, will arrive in the city from Chattanooga today. She will be one of the main speakers at the mass meeting this evening at St. Luke's Hall, 125 West 130th St. The meeting is under the joint auspices of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense.

Allan Tuck, New York I. L. D. attorney who has just returned from the South where he was sent, together with Joseph Brodsky to push an investigation of the frame-up of the nine Negro youngsters and organize for their defense, will report on the case and the progress so far made in the fight for a new trial.

Other speakers will be William Pat-

ter, who said on all railroads has become so open that Doak was forced to say something about the matter.

He admitted that the leading bankers who run the railroads are for wage cuts, but Doak added that the workers "there was nothing to it."

This is precisely the reason he was appointed to the position of Secretary of Labor. His job is to keep the workers from realizing the danger while the wage cut drive is perfected and put into effect.

"If there was such a thing as a properly fixed wage rate for the various industries and trades," Doak said, "then there might be some reasons for the suggested reductions." In other words, since wages are being cut every day and this process is effectively slashing the living standard of the worker, then everything is alright if wages were static, Doak explained, then a national wage slash would be reasonable.

Doak could not deny the fact that the banker-owners of the railroads have detailed plan and Doak is pledged to carry it through. In order to save the face of the Hoover administration which has repeatedly declared it is for "maintaining wage levels," Doak issues a statement defending Hoover and himself. "The administration has done everything that can be done to prevent the adoption of such (wage cutting) plans," Doak declared. "This means that such plans have been definitely prepared with the help of Hoover and Doak and now the capitalist government is trying to appear as free from blame in the eyes of the workers."

Doak who was general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was specifically chosen as Secretary of Labor at the order of the railroad bankers with a view to putting into effect the wage cut drive against the railroad workers.

Doak, of the U. S. N. R. and who has just returned from Soviet Russia, C. A. Hathaway of the Communist Party, prosecutor in the recent mass trial against race hatred and Richard B. Moore, national Negro director of the I. L. D.

Doak, of the U. S. N. R. and who has just returned from Soviet Russia, C. A. Hathaway of the Communist Party, prosecutor in the recent mass trial against race hatred and Richard B. Moore, national Negro director of the I. L. D.

In the Soviet Union this May Day, the year plan is rapidly being carried out, building up Socialism, while the capitalist lands are shaken by crisis. Revolutions are breaking out in many of the colonial countries, in China, India, Nicaragua, Honduras, the Spanish monarchy has been overthrown and the revolutionary working class is beginning to strive for the leadership for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the United States the workers this May Day are faced with mass hunger and starvation. Wage cuts are increasing.

Every effort is being made to keep the American workers from demonstrating May Day, together with the revolutionary workers in other countries. May Day is a mobilization of all the forces of the working class for unemployment, insurance, against wage cuts, and against imperialism. It is a mass mobilization for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the expression of the workers in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Every worker who sees the necessity of a united struggle of all workers, Negro, white, foreign-born, against unemployment and wage cuts, against imperialism, war, preparations, against the threatened attacks on the Soviet Union must rally his shop mates and fellow workers for the largest outpouring the capitalists have ever seen in this country. The temper of the revolutionary struggle on May Day is watched by the capitalist class as a gauge of the militancy of the workers.

All out on May Day! Down tools! Join the one day strike! Demonstrate under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League.

Scottsboro Defense Campaign

Friday Night.
New York City, mass protest meeting at St. Luke's Hall, 125 W. 130th St.

Saturday Afternoon.
New York City, protest parade at 3:30 o'clock from 140th St. and Lenox Ave. with demonstration at 110th St. and Fifth Ave.

Saturday Night.
Philadelphia, Pa., mass protest meetings at corners of 9th and Gerard Avenue, Marshall and Parrish Streets and Randolph and Poplar Sts.

April 28.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Scottsboro Defense Conference, with preceding mass meeting on April 27.
Oklahoma City, mass protest meeting at Daughters Hall, 2d and Tulsa Sts.

Masses hungry.
The working class population in these states has been hit hard by the depression. Millions are unemployed. Millions more are just times worse off. The speed-up is becoming unbearable. It is being cut off from the job in all these four states, and the ruling class is almost openly committing the policy of starving the toiling masses into submission, so as to through a terrible system of general wage cuts.

General Wage Cuts Come.
The steel mill owners of the Youngstown Valley in Ohio announce that they are in conference as to the amount and exact time of

CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE

GENERAL MOTOR RECOGNIZES USS

Vice Pres. Admits Five Year Plan Is Winning

NEW YORK.—Open recognition of the success of the Five Year Plan of industrial construction and socialization of agriculture in the Soviet Union was accorded by James L. Mooney, vice-president of the General Motors Corporation, in a speech over WEAF and NBC radio chain. Mooney repeated statements made in Paris last October, that "the economic thinking of the Russian government as exhibited in its plans and acting is difficult to find fault with."

"The fact is that Russia is in a position to furnish some things we need, and which she is in a better position to give us than we are able to supply ourselves. On the other hand, we have many things which she needs, and which we are in the best position to supply. Obviously, then, the situation is solved to the best effect when we set up with Russia to trade in these things. There is no danger for us in this, provided it is intelligently handled. On the other hand, there is a great benefit to be derived."

Fueled to Deal.
Mooney is talking in the interests of his company, forced by capitalist crisis to deal with the Soviet Union no matter if it does build up a system which will stand as a challenge to capitalism and inspire workers in all countries to do likewise.

Under the circumstances he has to admit the truth of the socialist victories being won on the industrial front in the U. S. S. R., and seeks to fool himself and his audience with the idea that a capitalist contribution in Russia will not harm capitalism.

In his own company Mooney practices the most ruthless speed-up, lays off men recklessly whenever they can be spared and plans wage cuts.

n of Work Among Harlem Unemployed that Drastic Corrections are Necessary

Losing Instead of Gaining Workers for May First and Relief Struggle

The unemployed workers of Harlem are losing instead of gaining workers for May First and Relief Struggle. At the executive committee of the branch, at which the work situation in the two weeks was discussed in detail, the following situation came to light:

(1) A meeting of all Party members who are unemployed was called. Of 30 unemployed unemployed members, of which number 20 were Party members, only 10 showed up. (2) The branch of unemployed workers again two days ago. At the executive committee of the branch, at which the work situation in the two weeks was discussed in detail, the following situation came to light:

that attended, 12 were Negro workers and 7 were white workers. (3) About ten days ago 15 Party members had members of the unemployed branch made house to house visits on 125th street. (4) Several members of the executive committee of the unemployed branch stated that starving workers can not think and therefore can not be won for struggle and organization, their bodies are not tight enough as yet, and we must not even indicate that the unemployed branch will give a measure of food relief because that would be pure charity and would breed hundreds of workers to the branch for relief. (5) Workers call at the

conferences on their members

Army Denies Order for Raid on Mexican C. P.

Even Reactionary Press Admits There Was No 'Red Plot'

By Alfred Miller

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 1

The Army Garrison commander here, through General Jesus Fuenes Davila, head of the garrison staff, repeated today that he was not sure that he or his subordinates at the Comuna-

Reputation of supporters of de-
posed President, presidential candi-
date, Gen. Agha Khan and
Wazir, a Vice-President
of the National Council of the
Government, for provocations
were made in a card on in-
quiry of the Communist Party
and the creation of an Army, major
and minor.

Meanwhile, over the reactionary
 newspapers, El Pais Ultimas Noti-
 cias and Excelsior changed the
 headline after the said Friday
 night to read: "Nobody Believes
 Reds Were Breeding Conspiracy."

O. J. the 36 arrested in the Com-
munists Party office, including four
women, are still in police custody.
40 are expected to be set free in
the woman is also.

PARTY ISSUES STATEMENT

ISSUES STATEMENT
 Circulating rumors that the
 Foreign National Committee of the
 Communist Party is being hunted
 have proved to be outright false-
 hood. The Party leaders, who are
 making a free press in the open
 world, the following statement was
 made:

...has been
from 1980

SA [redacted] and
[redacted]
[redacted]

Mr. Wallis

DIONISIO ENCINO

through those really responsible
were fully identified as Almazan-
ists.

Anonymous provocateurs reported to the authorities alleged subversive plans of the Communist Party, resulting in a search of our offices by the police last Monday. At the same time, Almazanist propaganda openly announced the deliberate incitement of riots directed particularly against revolutionary organizations. All this information received by our Party, must have caused a repetition of the regret suffered by our organization last October 5.

Last night, a peaceful meeting of state employees took place to consider trade union questions. A sound version that the meeting concerned a subversive plot is shown by the fact that, on the contrary, the Communist Party has a unit at the most loyal organization, the State Department, and is working in cooperation with the State Department.

**Communists Demand
an Immediate
Investigation.**

proved by numerous examples

"The method of procedure followed by persons last night, saying they were carrying out orders of superiors to investigate the nature of the meeting in the Communist Party office, made the people in the office believe that another reactionary attack was under way, thus leading to the resulting lamentable facts recounted in the press.

"The Communist Party is the first to deplore the death of a member of the Army, an army which came from the people and which understood how to maintain the loyalty of people's institutions. If people in the Communist Party offices could have known that the search had been ordered by the authorities, or that it was a question of investigation by revolutionary elements, they would have lent all facilities, as was done last November 23.

"It has been proved beyond question that the garrioon command had not ordered any search, and the methods used to investigate the false reports were completely improper.

"Because of all this, we expect public opinion to take into account the declarations of our arrested comrades which will explain clearly the causes of the unfortunate incident yesterday.

"We also expect the authorities to open a detailed and impartial investigation to find the persons really responsible for the incident and to avoid the intentions of the reactionaries to use the incident to create an atmosphere for the illegalization of our Party and to cover up those who are openly betraying reactionaries."

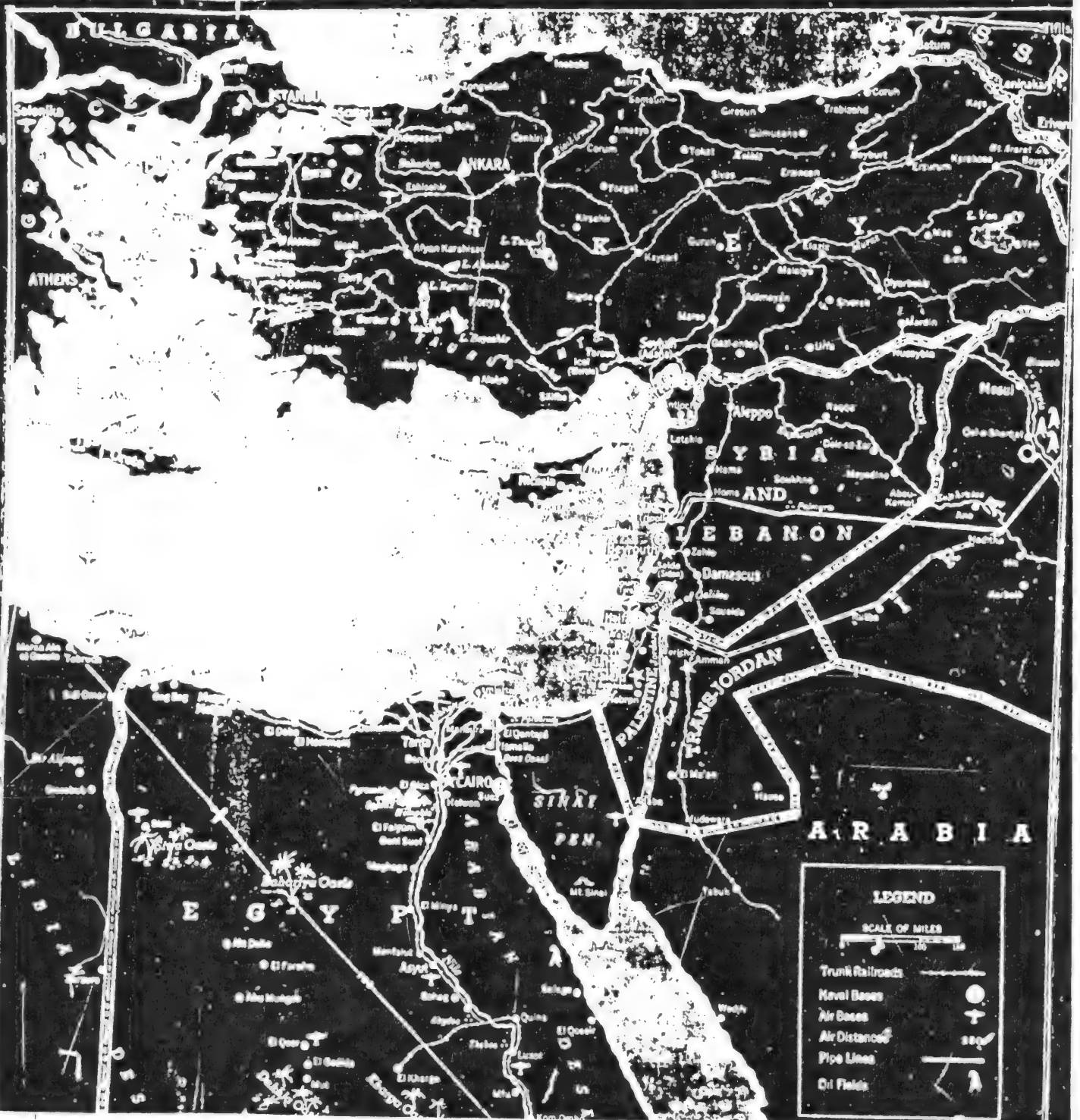
The Communist Party statement was signed for the National Committee by Dionisio Encinas, Andres Saigado and Miguel Velasco.



To Build Big Navy, Says Camacho in Inaugural

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 1 (UPI)—President Manuel Avila Camacho in his inaugural speech before his own people and high representatives of the Americas today, pledged Mexico's

(Continued from Page 1)



...to the Pan-American ideals of friendship, com-
munity in the Chamber of Deputies.
The new president said it was fortunate that the republics of the Western Hemisphere—whatever the differences that may have prevailed before—now were united in a common decision to defend the continent in an attack on "mutual respect and dignity."

Seated on the flag-bedecked platform with the new chief executive were his predecessor, Lázaro Cárdenas, whose presidential term expired at midnight; high Mexican officials; diplomatic representatives from other countries; and a large delegation of U. S. officials, led by Vice-President Elect Henry A. Wallace and U. S. Ambassador Joseph P. Daniels.

For Mexico's part, he said, that concept of mutual defense would shortly be implemented by a big naval building program.

"We shall do that," he said, "in order to cooperate more efficiently in the continent's defense through our own efforts and thus be able to maintain the dignity and sovereignty of the country."

He announced that in order to facilitate that program, the Navy Department would be raised to a regular Cabinet status.

The new president said his administration would bend every effort to eliminate poverty. He said that in view of the precarious state of most of the world today it might be difficult for Mexico to keep pace with the social reforms and that the nation should not expect external prosperity. The people, he said, must have to brace themselves and work in the fullest cooperation with the government.

The best insurance for national prosperity, he said, would be a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth and a more full utilization of her resources.

One of the best foundations for such prosperity, he said, was continuance and extension of the gains made by labor in recent years. Investors, employers and the nation's wealthier classes, well know, he said, that any business based on "hunger wages" or violation of the basic rights of the working man rested on an insecure foundation. But, he added, "legitimate profits" will be respected.

Lisbon Jammed with Homeless Refugees

LISBON, Dec. 1.—Lisbon, almost Europe's last gateway to the New World, still is crowded with refugees. Liners between Portugal and the United States cannot accommodate thousands seeking passage.

Sing Sing Population Grows by 155 in Nov.

Sing Sing's population was 2,458 yesterday. During November 155 prisoners were received.

Boxcar Library

COLUMBIA, N. Y., Dec. 1 (UP).—This town of 75 claims to have the smallest library in the world—the only library in a box car—and the only library paid for with pennies. It has more than 1,700 volumes.

...the so-called 'National Defense' program is not a program of peace—but of war.

This program was followed by the conscription law, followed by the drive "against American liberties, by the drive to destroy the right of labor unions to strike."

"Don't you see how America is following the same pattern that was followed in France?"

"If this course is continued we may be asking for a Rescue Ship to save the people of America."

Prof. Rautenstrauch warned that American people might find themselves oppressed by a Franco-American union they changed the system that is responsible for war, fascism and misery in the world.

Rautenstrauch was introduced by Prof. E. D. Burgham of New York University, the chairman, as the most outspoken educator in social causes except Prof. Boas himself.

Dean William Pickens, director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, denounced the American Consul General in Mexico for refusing a visa to the famous Spanish writer, Constantine de la Mora, who wanted to come to the United States to lecture.

Carmen Meana, Spanish youth leader from the Transport Union in Madrid, and Miss Helen Simon, American Youth Congress leader, made moving talks on the struggles of Spanish youths against Franco.

Three hundred and fifty dollars was collected for the Rescue Ship after a talk by Rev. Wm. Wm. Sprague of Bedford Hills.

Helen Keller, honorary chairman of the Rescue Ship Mission, lent greetings.



MAP SHOWS STRATEGY

Greece and in Turkey. With more Balkan nations orbit of the imperialist war-makers progressive.

Thousands Here to Pay Of Jews on British D

The terrible fate which the British Government decreed for the 1,771 Jewish refugees on the prison-ship Patraia, in the harbor at Haifa, Palestine, will not go unnoticed by the Jewish people of this city.

There were 172 Jewish children on that ship as well as more than 1,000 Jewish men and women. How many now lie dead beneath the waters of the Palestine harbor is not known.

On Wednesday evening, Dec. 4, a protest meeting will take place at Manhattan Center, 24th St. and Eighth Ave., under the auspices of the Jewish People's Committee.

The Committee yesterday issued the following statement:

"We call upon the Jewish people and all progressives of New York to rally behind the mass meeting this Wednesday evening to protest the inhuman treatment of the 1,771 Jewish refugees. We call upon them to crowd Manhattan Center to hear Congressmen Vito Marcantonio, Rabbi Moses Miller, Elmer Brown, Leonard Goldsmith and other distinguished speakers express the feelings of all decent Americans."

"This meeting will express the heartfelt grief of the American people at the tragic explosion on board the Patraia where these Jews from lands of fascist terror have been herded by the British government for passage to an island near Madagascar. At the same time this meeting will thunder the demand of our people that the gates of Palestine be opened for the survivors of the refugees."

"These refugees came from lands where fascist terror brought pogroms and concentration camps upon the Jewish people. They came from countries like Rumania where even thousands of Jews are being murdered and beaten, from cities like Warsaw, where even now ghetto walls are erected by the Nazi bandits."

"They came from these lands of terror to find a haven in Palestine. After months of travel in the hope of finding a better life, they find only to find that the same doors that had opened to admit 300 nobles and war-leaders of the defunct Polish government, which were barred to them by the British government."

"These homeless refugees are now

swept with a hunger support case to them—leaving Jewish and throughout the world.

"But the British Government transferred them to it and then the explosion that brought death and scores of the prisoners."

"The story of these and tragic. It must move as by the deportees that survive."

"We, of the Jewish People's Committee, are proud to be at the forefront of the forthcoming march on Madison Square Garden against Nazi imperialism against the Polish people against the Rumanian people against the anti-Semitic

Only Big Film Got War Ord Study/Revel

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 (AP).—A big picture is being taken tonight to be shown in theaters to spread facts among smaller firms in tools and facilities to military production.

The bulk of the \$3,000,000 orders placed by the War Department since last July went to 2,800 plants on a direct basis. Some 80 per cent of the are found on the list of 10,000 factories to which tasks have been assigned the Industrial Mobilization event of war.

Hundreds of smaller plants are being asked to cooperate in the program. Few, however, have been added to the original mobilization plan in the larger, or key, plants which have been surveyed over the past 32 years.



Power Saver for Soviet Farmers

The machine is the invention of S. Mikhlin, a young Armenian agronomist. It lifts the glass frames of the soil as it moves along, drills rows, sows seeds, waters and presses the rows, and polities the plants by means of electric motor, the machine runs along the concrete highway, brings in new soil to the frames, leveling the soil and presses the rows, and polities the plants by means

The Soviet Union boasts of this new machine in a long, much talk-breaking toll in agricultural sides of methods. It lifts the glass frames of the soil as it moves along, drills rows, sows seeds, waters and presses the rows, and polities the plants by means of special fixtures attached as needed.

MAP SHOWS STRATEGIC naval and air bases in eastern Greece and in Turkey. More Balkan nations being drawn into the orbit of the imperialist war-makers progressive Greeks in this country

have proposed a people's government for their country which they urge should form an alliance for peace and strengthen the ties of these nations with the Soviet Union.

Thousands Here to Protest Hate Of Jews on British Death Ship

The terrible fate which the British Government decreed for the 1,771 Jewish refugees on the ship *Patra*, in the harbor at Haifa, Palestine, will not go unnoticed by the Jewish people of this city.

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This meeting will express the heartfelt grief of the American people at the tragic episode on board the *Patra* where these Jews from lands of fascist terror have been herded by the British government to an island near Madagascar. At the same time this meeting will thunder the demand of our people that the gates of Palestine be opened for the survivors of the refugees.

These refugees came from lands where fascist terror brought pogroms and "concentration camps" upon the Jewish people. They came from countries like Rumania where even thousands of Jews are being murdered and beaten, from cities like Warsaw, where even now ghetto walls are erected by the Nazi bandits.

They came from these lands of terror to find a haven in Palestine. After months of travel to the Holy Land, they arrived at the shores of Palestine, only to find that the same doors that had been opened to them by the British government were now closed to them by the British government.

These homeless refugees are

served with a hunger strike, and support came to them from the Palestinian Jewry and from Jews throughout the world.

"But the British Government remained deaf to their protests and transferred them to the *Patra*—and then the explosion occurred that brought death and injuries to scores of the refugees.

"The story of these refugees is sad and tragic. It must not be made more so by the deportation of these that survive.

"We, of the Jewish People's Committee, are proud to be the sponsors of the forthcoming mass meeting. Our Madison Square Garden meeting against Nazi brutality, our mighty protest march to Washington against the Polish pogroms, our protests to the Rumanian Consulate against the anti-Semitic decrees.

Only Big Firms Get War Orders, Study Reveals

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 (UP).—Defense chiefs have disclosed tonight to be urging large contractors to spread defense orders among smaller firms in an effort to utilize all available machine tools and facilities to expedite military production.

The bulk of the \$3,000,000,000 of orders placed by the War Department since last July went to about 2,800 plants on a direct-order basis. Some 80 per cent of these plants are found on the list of more than 10,000 factories to which specific tasks have been assigned under the Industrial Mobilization Plan drawn up by the Army for use in event of war.

Hundreds of smaller firms have written the War Department pleading their cooperation in the program. Few of the smaller firms, however, have been added to the Army's plan to plan out the places of key industries which have been surveyed repeatedly over the past 22 years, it was

and our leading role in scores of other actions of the same sort directed against those in any land and under any flag who have oppressed our people, have marked the Jewish People's Committee as the outstanding Jewish organization for the defense of our people. We are proud again to take the lead in behalf of our people."

Italy Launches Terror Reign In Albania

ATHENS, Dec. 1 (UP).—Actual stance of the Italian fascist militia has launched a "reign of terror" in Albania in an effort to stamp out a spreading revolutionary movement. Greek quarters claimed tonight.

Starace's first efforts were said to have been unsuccessful and Albanian disorders are increasing as the Greek army drives deeper into Albanian territory, these quarters claimed.

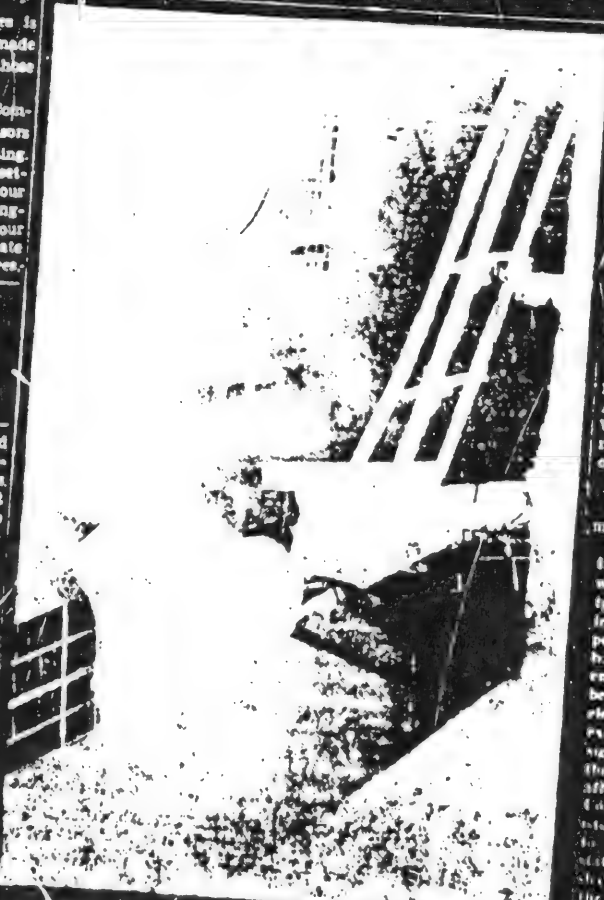
WPA 'Purge' Victims to Tell Stories

An open hearing into alleged wholesale discrimination against WPA workers for former or failed political beliefs will be conducted today by the National Committee for People's Rights.

The hearing will be held at the Baltimore Hotel at 8 P. M. with Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, professor of economics at Hobart College and secretary of the committee, presiding. Among special speakers to comment on testimony received will be the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, Mrs. Alan K. Chalmers, chairman Eugene P. Connolly of the American Labor Party County Committee in New York, and A. J. Iserman, prominent labor attorney. Mr. Howard Hunter, acting commissioner of the WPA, has been invited.

Several suspended WPA workers will tell their stories. These stories, in some cases involve Star-chamber proceedings before WPA administrators who are purportedly looking for violation of section 15 of the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act. Section 15 of the act prohibits WPA employment of aliens, Communists and members of Nazi Bund organizations.

AIMED AT UNIONISTS
A statement of the National Committee for People's Rights said: "Obviously, the WPA administration is using section 15 of the act in its discrimination against the WPA of persons active in their unions. Workers are suspended upon the unproven charges of unsworn personal enemies in some cases. Others are being ousted on the basis of old election records or because they exercised their American right to sign an election petition. The fact that they exercised and swore to affidavits saying they are not Communist, alien or Bundists seems to give no difference to the WPA. Thus, the WPA is discriminating against unionists who have exercised their rights." The fact that the committee is concerned also because of the more direct regard of the American people and its interest in these practices. Workers are taken from their jobs to be elected.



Charging that the WPA is discriminating against unionists, the National Committee for People's Rights is holding a hearing today. The committee is concerned also because of the more direct regard of the American people and its interest in these practices. Workers are taken from their jobs to be elected.

**A CIVILIZED
CALL FOR
MASSACRE**

—Editorial, Page 6.

Daily Worker

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY AND PROGRESS

Vol. XVII, No. 289

NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1937

Greeks Take Pogradec in Fierce Battle

Use Bayonets in Repeated Attacks on Strategic Town; 800 Killed or Wounded in Earlier Battle; Italians Retreat

BULLETIN

ATHENS, Monday, Dec. 2 (UP).—Greeks captured 7,000 Italians yesterday and the number of dead and wounded was said to have been much higher, according to frontier reports. Greek losses were reported comparatively small.

(By United Press)

BELGRADE, Dec. 1.—Attacking repeatedly with their bayonets, Greek forces captured the town of Pogradec in one of the fiercest battles of the war.

These attacks were followed up by additional bayonet thrusts during which the Greeks crushed the Italians during the night.

A general Italian retreat into central Albania took place, deep mountain snow and under a continuous aerial bombardment was reported from the frontier in which Greek troops pushed northward from the captured town of Pogradec.

Some 200,000 men, including the 10th and 11th Albanian Divisions, said of Kometzidis, was reported to have been captured by the Greeks at 8 A. M. Sunday in fierce fighting.

A 12-hour battle at night between the Greek forces of the 1st and 2nd Divisions, with heavy artillery and assault aircraft, resulted in the capture of the town of Pogradec, a strategic point in the Greek occupation of strategic points.

Jos. P. Kennedy Resigns as Ambassador

Wealthy Bank Promoter Was Roosevelt Appointee

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1. (UP).—Joseph P. Kennedy tonight announced he has submitted his resignation as United States Ambassador to Great Britain so that he may devote his time to "the great cause of the world today to help the President keep the United States out of war."

Kennedy was appointed to the London post in December, 1937, after having served as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and of the United States Maritime Commission. He was a banker promoter and financier prior to being brought to Washington by Mr. Roosevelt when the New Deal came into power.

A source close to both Mr. Roosevelt and Kennedy said that their most amicable conference today was held and that the President and his Ambassador found themselves in general agreement on most questions affecting British-United States relations.

SOVIET PRESS COOL TO TOKIO PUPPET GOVERNMENT

Driven From Homes, English Raid Victims Are Fleeced by Landlords

English victims of Nazi air raids, who are driven out of their homes and rush to the countryside for refuge find when they get there that landlords force them to pay war-high rents or let them sleep in the fields.

Raising of rents in order to cash in on the reduced supply of houses is becoming a major scandal in England.

The United Press reported yesterday:

"Hundreds of persons were homeless and jobless as a result of the intense attack by the German Air Force over Southampton

and coastal towns."

"Many hundreds who were bombed out of their homes went to nearby towns and villages today."

But, according to reports which have been appearing in the British weekly, The Tribune, these pitiful victims will find that if they do not have the price of high-priced houses they will be as homeless as ever.

The latest issue of The Tribune to arrive in this country refers once again to the "rent racket" which is gouging the homeless air-raid victims.

The Tribune (London) prints a pathetic story of two adults and two children who ask for a home in the bomb-free area that they are willing to pay (five pounds) for each week. This advertisement from a weekly paper, written by the Yorkshire Express, is exposing the rent now going up in Westmoreland, to refugees from bomb-destroyed towns and villages.

South England Coast Takes Worst Beating

London Claims Total of 3,000 Nazi, Italian Planes Shot Down

SOUTHAMPTON, England, Dec. 1 (AP).—This large port on the south coast of England took its worst beating of the war during a long and concentrated air bombardment which ended early today with numerous homes and business establishments in smoldering ruins.

After scattering flares to light up their objectives, the raiders also raked the streets of one area in the town with machine gun fire. The raiders arrived early and started the raid in the manner of the recent assaults on British cities.

Beaten back from London during the day by smashing British



VITO MARCANTONIO

Save Spanish Refugees, Says Rally Here

Demand Roosevelt Act

Auto Workers Demand Government To Arbitrate

Production Schedule Plant Case Controversy

DETROIT, Dec. 1 (UP).—A dispute at the Chrysler Corporation has led to a federal labor arbitrator. The company announced tonight 30,000 men will return to work today.

Delery said conferees for the United Automobile Workers and company reached agreement today to both sides. The company's production schedule side panel division, which is on strike Friday, will be working tomorrow, he said.

The Briggs Mack Avenue and the Plymouth division of the corporation closed Friday.

Daily Worker

OF LIBERTY, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PROSPERITY

NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1940

Weather

Local—Partly cloudy and colder.
Eastern New York State—Cloudy and colder.

(8 Pages) Price 5 Cents

Raid on Homes, English Raid Evicted by Landlords

(New York) (Nov. 30).—A raid on a bomb-free area and say they are willing to pay \$10 (five pounds) per week for such safe housing. The advertisement, taken from a Lakeland weekly paper, was quoted by the Yorkshire Post in exposing the rent racket now going on in postwar Lancashire, to which refugees from bombed industrial towns are fleeing.

many hundreds who were bombed out of their homes and villages today," according to reports have been appearing in the British weekly. The plight of these victims is such that if they do not pay the price of high-priced housing they will be as homeless as ever.

Lack of Inspection Killed 31 Ohio Miners, Union Officials Charge



Families Give Up All Hope as First 12 Bodies Are Recovered

CADIZ, Ohio, Dec. 1.—Thirty-one miners—hard-working breadwinners of typical American families—were crushed under rock and debris because the Pennsylvania Coal Company and inspection officials did not bother to have the mine inspected against explosion dangers.

The United Mine Workers Union declared today that lack of inspection was the cause of the explosion disaster which took the lives of 31 miners in the Nelms mine two days ago.

CADIZ, O., Dec. 1 (UPI).—Bodies of 11 miners were recovered today by rescue workers digging slowly through rock and debris in the Nelms mine of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Coal Company, where an explosion trapped 31 men last Friday. All hope was abandoned.

Auto Workers' Demands Go To Arbitrator

Production Schedule at Briggs Plant Caused Controversy

DETROIT, Dec. 1 (UPI).—A production dispute at the Briggs Manufacturing Company has been settled, federal labor conciliator James P. Dewey announced tonight, and 2,000 men will return to work Monday.

Dewey said conferees for the CIO United Automobile Workers and the company reached agreement "satisfactory to both sides." Details of curtailed production schedules in a die panel division, which caused a strike Friday, will be worked out tomorrow, he said.

The Briggs Mack Avenue plant and the Plymouth division of Chrysler Corporation closed Friday when 2,000 employees stopped work.

Mine Disasters

like this will continue so long as the Congress of the United States refuses to enact legislation providing for the adequate inspection of mines and for the and broken underground measures. Today 31 miners lie crushed bearing a body recovered from a similar disaster in West Virginia a few months ago in which 32 men died. John L. Lewis at that time would have been alive if Congress had acted. Today's Ohio victims also died needlessly.

Transport Union Spikes

TO MARCANTONIO

e Spanish ugees, Says ly Here

nd Roosevelt Act

north of Iwaiden near the shore of Lake Ohrida.

From the mountain peaks the Greeks are expected to deliver their next major assault against the important Cafaane-Ebhasan Road, first toward the town of Cafaane itself and then northwestward against Ebhasan, only 30 miles south of Drana, capital of Albania.

Unofficial border dispatches from Struga, and Ohrid on the Yugoslav border described new Greek advances all along the tortuous mountain front, from Koinopolis over the Isonia mountain to Lake Ohrida.

Following the capture of heavily defended Bouraz, which fell after six days of attack, the Greeks early today cleared the main heights of the Molra mountains to which the fascist forces had retreated, it was reported.

Polish Nobles Get 'Refuge' In Palestine

(News of Jewish meeting, page 2)

The British government likes anti-Semitic Polish nobles and generals much better than it does for the hunted Jewish refugees.

A wireless dispatch from Palestine, declares the Jewish People's Committee has revealed that the same British government which arrested Jewish refugees who tried to enter Palestine, has just agreed to let 500 Polish nobles and generals enter and remain in Palestine as refugees.

The Jewish refugees who have been arrested by the British police are being deported to some "Devil's Island" near Madagascar.

But the Polish pogrom-makers are being welcomed by the British in Palestine.

MOSCOW, Dec. 1. — Newspapers today published brief dispatches from Tokio announcing Japan's formal recognition of the "national government of China" in Nanjing headed by former Chinese premier Wang Ching-wei.

The Japanese Ambassador, Lieut. Gen. Yoshitatsu Tachikawa, conferred with the Foreign Affairs Vice-Commissioner, Solomon Lozovsky, yesterday, following three earlier conferences with Premier and Foreign Affairs Commissioner, Vladimir M. Molotov. It was understood in Japanese quarters that in a daily routine discussions were discussed.

All references to the Nanjing regime as the "national government of China" were placed carefully in quotation marks. It was pointed out that in earlier statements, the Soviet Union had made it clear she intends to continue recognition of the Chungking government headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as the legal government of China.

DISCUSS FISHERIES

Japanese informants understood that Ambassador Tachikawa and Lozovsky discussed the fisheries question yesterday as this perennial problem needs immediate solution. The present one-year agreement, under which Japanese fish in Russian Far East waters, will end Dec. 31. Japan hopes to effect a new long-term agreement.

Diplomats, it was reported, are following closely all developments with regard to the Soviet Union's attitude towards the Chinese-Japanese conflict, said today law no change in the Soviet position since Molotov's Aug. 1 speech to the Supreme Soviet in which he said:

"As regards relations with the great nation of China, which is fighting for her existence, they are, as ever, good neighbors and friendly, following the line of the Soviet-Chinese non-interference pact."

capitol again tested. The night alarm sounded at the usual hour. After a sharp flurry of anti-aircraft fire a full set in and continued until the all-clear sounded. Night raiders also were reported over southwest England, South Wales, the Midlands, Liverpool and other sections.

CLAIM 1,000 PLANES

News said in Berlin that German fighter planes Sunday shot down 15 British fighters and lost two of their own machines in a single air battle over South England.

The Press Association reported that the British bag of Axis aircraft over and around Britain during the war had amounted above 2,000. It said 2,000 German and 20 Italian planes had been downed. At the same time the Air Ministry said 200 enemy planes were destroyed by Royal Air Force fighters and ground defenses on all fronts in November, against the loss of 119 British planes.

Argentine Press Asks Facts on U. S. Base Talks

Buenos Aires, Dec. 1 (UP). —

The newspaper La Prensa demanded today that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs publish a statement on the conversation with the United States regarding construction of naval and aero-bases in the Argentine.

Referring to a statement, just week by the Uruguayan Defense Ministry that U. S. troops had conferred with the Argentine and Uruguayan governments on this subject, La Prensa said the public had not been informed of the negotiations and that the facts should be placed before the people.

By Art Shields

Friends of the Spanish people meeting in Manhattan Center yesterday pressed the Roosevelt Administration to without delay and the lives of 100,000 Spanish refugees, perishing behind French barbed wire.

The meeting, called by the American Rescue Ship Mission, demanded that the President use \$15,000,000 of the \$50,000,000 refugee aid funds given him by Congress and finance the transportation of the refugees to Mexico where a welcome is assured.

The refugees first are gathering dust at present.

The American Rescue Ship Mission's demand that Roosevelt acts before the Vichy government would the refugees back to Franco's firing squads comes at the very time when the State Department is said to be considering a loan to the Spanish brethren.

EXECUTIVE

France has already executed 400,000 anti-fascists, the American Rescue Ship Mission reports. A million and a half more anti-fascists are in prison and another million and a half are in forced labor battalions.

Speeches by Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, head of the Engineering Department at Columbia University, were highlights at the meeting.

"As president of the International Labor League I solemnly pledge the support of my organization to the American Rescue Ship Mission's campaign," said Marcantonio.

At the same time the speaker Congressmen pledged that in years never known the fight against the war which the American people are waging has been lost.

The fight to save the Spanish fighters for democracy is part of the fight to save American democracy, he continued.

"Today those who seek peace, the defeat of democracy in Spain, he went on, "lead to the destruction and other countries in the name of democracy — important danger."

"They struggle to destroy Spanish democracy," said Marcantonio, "a prelude to the destruction of democracy in France and Great Britain and as a prelude to the establishing a native brand of fascism in the United States."

The speaker, from that Spanish Spanish democracy took part in the Munich betrayal and the massacre at Sedan, continued Marcantonio, and they are taking part in the execution of the American people today.

Starting against the clock to get

(Continued on Page 2)

Private M At Fort B Another B

Commanding Officer Shooting Accident Victim Was

PORT HENRY, N. J., Dec. 1. — A shooting accident at a New Jersey military post today killed a private, the victim was reported.

The victim's death was reported by the military post commandant, who said the private was killed while practicing with a rifle.

The private was reported to be a member of the post's rifle team.

The shooting accident occurred while the private was practicing with a rifle.

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Daily Worker Is a Nickel Today Readers Say 'Bargain at Any Price'

With this issue, the Daily Worker becomes five cents a copy—and as many of our readers have told us—a bargain at any price.

We make this innovation in the price of America's outstanding newspaper championing peace, democracy and in defense of labor's rights, with the encouraging knowledge that it meets with the whole-hearted approval of our readers.

Hundreds of letters in recent days from readers and friends have expressed full agreement with our decision.

This new policy will enable the Daily

Worker to more effectively fight back against the increasing attacks upon it by the wage-slashing union-busting employers who desire war, and who fear the Daily Worker's uncompromising fight against war and for the welfare of the American people.

Only through the pages of the Daily Worker will the common people of this country find the truth; the unadorned truth in blazing clear terms—the truth which the capitalist press pillories with each new edition.

We echo our reader's slogan: "The Daily Worker is a bargain at any price!"

By All Shields

Friends of the Spanish people meeting in Manhattan County yesterday passed the Roosevelt Administration to without delay save the lives of 150,000 Spanish refugees perishing behind French barred wire.

The meeting, called by the American Rescue Ship Mission, demanded that the President use \$1,000,000 of the \$10,000,000 refugee aid funds given him by Congress and finance the transportation of the refugees to Mexico while a vaccine is secured.

The refugees finish and gathering that is present.

The American Rescue Ship Mission's demand that Roosevelt order the refugees back to France's firing squads comes at the very time when the State Department is said to be considering a loan to the Spanish bother.

By All Shields

Francisco has already executed 60,000 anti-Spanish, the American Rescue Ship Mission reports. A million and a half more anti-Spanish are in prison and another million and a half are in forced labor battalions.

Speeches by Congressman Vol Houtenruech, head of the Engineering Department of Columbia University, were held at the meeting.

"As president of the International Labor Defense I am proud to be the president of the meeting," he said.

At the close of the meeting, Congressman Houtenruech said he would lead the march to the White House to demand the release of the Spanish refugees.

The march will be held at 12 o'clock tomorrow and will lead to the White House.

"Today there is no doubt that the defeat of Franco is a matter of time," he said.

"The march will be a protest against the policy of the Roosevelt Administration," he said.

"The march will be a protest against the policy of the Roosevelt Administration," he said.

THE AGREEMENT

Dewey said that the panel selection schedule would be rearranged tomorrow and that the case of the six workers would be studied. It is possible they will be returned to jobs and an equal number of workers released in another department, he said.

Conferring with Dewey for the company today were president W. P. Brown, vice-president W. D. Robinson, and J. H. Taylor, personnel director. President R. J. Thomas of the UAW-CIO, Richard T. Flannery, and Emil Maury, president of Local 212, represented the union.

Private Killed At Fort Dix, Another Held

Commanding Officer Says Shooting Accidental; Victim Was 19

FORT DIX, N. J., Dec. 1.—A 45 calibre army bullet took the life of a New Jersey youth in camp here. Private Edward A. Zencobi, and another private, Victor A. Pirelli, was being held by the shooting.

The youth's death was unknown to Burlington County police officials many hours after it occurred, it was reported.

The shooting was said to have occurred in a barbers' street of the First Battalion of the 177th Field Battalion at Fort Dix. The dead youth, aged 19, was reportedly killed in a scuffle with private Pirelli. Both were known as friends to the others in the camp.

In a prepared statement, Major Gen. Clifford A. Powell insisted that the killing "was undoubtedly accidental." He would give no additional information regarding the affair.

In accordance with Army practice involving a major crime in peacetime, private Pirelli was handed over to Burlington County officials. He was taken into custody by Detective Charles W. Keller and placed under technical charges of homicide.

Gen. Kotel Sent to Rumania, La Report

BUDAPEST, Monday, Dec. 2 (UP).—Dimitroff issued today that the chief of the German supreme command, General Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, has been sent to Rumania, ostensibly to "watch internal security" in the Balkans.

Strike Rumors in Press

Spokesman Calls Stories Provocative Fabrications Coming From Transportation Board

Transport Workers Union spokesmen yesterday termed newspaper reports that more than 400 car maintenance workers at the IRT Ninety-Eighth St. shops would strike this morning as outright falsehoods.

The reports, widely featured, said the union workers had voted to strike over the refusal of one employee, Joseph MacDonald, to pay union dues.

Stating that no strike action had been voted upon for this morning, and that the provocative reports were inspired by the Board of Transportation, the union statement read:

"There will be no strike in any part of the New York City transit system tomorrow morning. The Transport Workers Union has not authorized any slowdown or walkout in the Ninety-Eighth St. shops or anywhere else."

LaGuardia to take the necessary measures to settle the critical situation created by the Board's incompetent management and had faith in dealing with the workers. The commissioners are trying very hard to prevent a peaceful solution of a situation for which they are solely responsible. They are thereby jeopardizing the safe and uninterrupted service on the city transit system."

UNION ON ALERT

Acting to guard against any further provocations by the Board of Transportation, the union instructed William Grogan, TWU executive board member, and a carpenter at the Ninety-Eighth St. shops to be on the alert for any such action today.

Meanwhile, employees of the shops have pledged to follow union instructions and not take any action without sanction of the union. A meeting of the workers last week voted not to work while company stooges in the shops were refusing to pay dues, in accordance with a TWU-IRT contract, but the workers later decided to withhold action.

"It was designed to create confusion and distract attention from the union's charges that Delaney and the other commissioners are attempting to violate the union's contracts, are disregarding regular civil service procedure and jamming on agreements made with union officials since unification."

The TWU and the recent CIO convention had requested Mayor

One body, that of Otto Spöcher, was removed yesterday.

Rescue work was hampered by cave-ins yesterday and today, but the squads continued to excavate by hand in six-hour shifts. A rock fall last night smashed the electric loader that was being used to speed the digging.

Officials of the United Mine Workers charged that the disaster could have been prevented if the mine had had adequate inspection. Company officials, at the site of the explosion, refused to comment.

The bodies recovered today were those of Louis Bodnar, Jewett, O.; Steve Mameth, Cadiz; Ora Parma, Cadiz; Dan Smith, Jewett; Herb Jardee, Cadiz; Frank Mappoch, Cadiz; Jean Mathern, Cadiz; Jules Courville, Pinery Fork; Bill Hornyak, Adena; David McInyre, Amsterdam; Homer Knox, Cadiz.

Explosion after explosion is taking place in the mine fields of the country, and scores of miners are being murdered by official and corporate greed and neglect.

John L. Lewis charged recently that powerful mine owner interests are blocking Congressional legislation which would provide safety inspections and safety devices.

Bessarabia Revolt Is 'Absurd' But 'Times' Headlines Go On

What if both Bucharest and Moscow ridicule as "absurd" the fake rumors of an "uprising" in Soviet Bessarabia?

To the New York Times it makes no difference.

The New York Times wants a phony headline. Regardless of the known facts, it ran its phony headline yesterday: "Bessarabia Declared to Be in Revolt."

Who says so? Nobody knows.

The Times must print the denial of the United Press: "High Rumanian officials denied knowledge of the reported revolt, and said no such report has been transmitted from Bucharest."

Latest from the United Press:

Following denials in high Rumanian quarters Saturday of reports abroad of revolt among the 4,000,000 inhabitants of

Russian-held Bessarabia a Soviet Legation spokesman here said tonight that "the report of a revolt in Bessarabia is too fantastic for words."

(In Moscow, authoritative Soviet quarters flatly denied the reports of a revolt in Bessarabia.)

The spokesman of the Soviet Legation here said:

"We talked telephonically with Moscow late Saturday night and again at noon today. We consider a denial of the false reports to be unnecessary since they are ridiculous."

But the New York Times headline goes merrily on.

After all, didn't the New York Times "kill" Lenin 23 times in its headlines, and "overthrow" the Soviet Government a dozen times or so?

FRAMED-UP NEGRO BEATEN ON WELFARE ISLAND WHEN HE DEMANDS OWN CLOTHES

Alcee Samuels, Arrested as "Pickpocket" When He Asks for Match in Subway

By HENDER GARLIN.

NEW YORK.—Alcee Samuels, a 29-year old Negro, born in Bordeaux, France, on July 4 ("Independence Day"), asked a man sitting on a bench in the 11th St. station of the West Side subway for a match. A few minutes later two detectives arrested him, charged with attempted pickpocketing. The next day the Negro, a chief cook who had been working in a Brooklyn restaurant, was on his way to Welfare Island to serve a 30-day prison term. No complaint was filed against the "pickpocket," but the word of a dick was enough.

Samuels was uneducated in law and court procedure. But he demanded of the magistrate:

"If I tried to rob somebody, why did I get arrested? And I wouldn't against me? When the detectives questioned him, he said nothing against me, did he?"

Samuels' complaint was ruled to be inadmissible. He will serve his sentence, which will be 30 days in the workhouse.

Samuels was arrested on the 60th day of his sentence. When he arrived on Welfare Island he was told to work with a new and different set of rules, and his term was lengthened to 90 days.

More, he was framed-up. Negro charged with a crime, and his tax money was taken from him, and he was sent to the penitentiary.

Samuels said he did not know the man who framed him, and he was told to work with a new and different set of rules, and his term was lengthened to 90 days.

He was arrested on the 60th day of his sentence. When he arrived on Welfare Island he was told to work with a new and different set of rules, and his term was lengthened to 90 days.

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I.L.G.W. Officials Permit Scabbing On Strikers of Local 38

Committee of 3 To See Perkins On Deportations Delegates Demand the Release of Paul and Creegan

PAWBUCKET, R. I.—A committee of three workers, representing the International Labor Defense, the Unemployed Councils and the Trade Union Unity League, with a delegate of the Civil Liberties Union, will arrive in Washington today from the Eastern New England district to demand the immediate release of Sam Paul, Greek anarchist, held on deportation charges, and Kenneth Creegan, also held on deportation charges.

Sam Paul is now in Cranston, R. I., and Creegan is in Boston, Mass. Both were charged with contempt of court. Paul was held in jail for the past 10 months, because he refused to give up his citizenship. Creegan was held in jail for the past 10 months, because he refused to give up his citizenship.

He was arrested on the 60th day of his sentence. When he arrived on Welfare Island he was told to work with a new and different set of rules, and his term was lengthened to 90 days.

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O'Brien Will Hear Protest On Lynch Terror Today at 11 Committee of 25 Will Demand Drive On Negroes Cease

NEW YORK.—A committee of 25, organized by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and other organizations, will call upon Mayor John J. O'Brien this morning at 11 o'clock to protest against the police reign of terror against Negroes throughout the city. The committee will also demand that action be taken at once against the slayers of James Matthews, North Carolina Negro murdered on Welfare Island. The committee will assemble in front of the office of the Harlem Liberator, 2162 Seventh Avenue, at 9:30 this morning.

This committee, which has already received widespread assurances of support from members of churches, fraternal organizations, unions, etc., will call the Mayor's attention to the large number of near-lynchings which have taken place during the past few days and will protest in action of the District Attorney in failing to proceed against the slayers of Matthews.

Three flagrant cases to be cited by the committee include the attack on a group of Negro students and their parents in front of the Manual Training High School in Brooklyn last Wednesday; the continued arrests of innocent Negroes in Central Park on suspicion of being the mythical "ape man" sought by the police for alleged attacks on white women; and finally, the mysterious lynching on Friday of Richard Jackson, 14-year-old Negro boy, in the woodshed behind his home at 403 Elton St., Brooklyn.

The committee will make the following demands upon the Mayor:

1. Immediate action against the lynch-incitement stories in the press, as well as cessation of terrorization of Negroes who have the right to walk in or pass through, or sit in any of the public parks of the city.

2. That the Mayor, as the responsible administrative officer of the city, issue a public statement against these provocations, as well as upon the James Matthews murder.

3. Immediate release of Isidore Dorfmann, and the release of all other framed prisoners.

4. Stop lynching white-wash of Welfare Island. An open public investigation of the Matthews murder and the conditions of Negro and white inmates of Welfare Island by a publicly elected committee, to include representatives of workers' organizations, Negro and white.

5. The right of freedom of speech, assembly, and the right to petition.

Registration Begins Next Monday in N. Y.; Must Register to Vote

Gutters of New York



"Here, miss, give my love to the newspaper. Then phone me go the men's room."

Barbusse Calls for Action, Not Words In Anti-War Fight

(Continued from Page 1.)

relying on the fact that, like us, you know that it is not enough to proclaim, but that we must apply and realize our words.

Let the world know that our movement is born at the dark time of this universe, and that it comes, not to divide, but to unite.

It is proof of a redoubtable mother force of energy, as well as of a spirit of solid union and of undefeatable revolutionary brotherhood!

Let us—all the men of the far west and of good will—rise above the petty questions which weaken the resolute of the struggle and which are out of place in the face of the tragic events the nature of which are pushing us into the abyss.

Our task is greater, silder and more profound than these intrigues and maneuvers, and we cannot understand them.

What we do understand is this: There are two world-wide fronts facing each other, as they try to make a

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[illegible]

Jordan was accused of murder under circumstances which looked very suspicious and doubtful to SA. The Portland branch of the N. A. A. C. P. immediately got on the case and the national office was aiding in the defense. But at that time the I. L. D. was "feeling its oats" after having successfully fooled the poor and ignorant Scottsboro boys into dropping the national association and putting themselves at the mercy of the Communists; and this "Jordan case" looked like another good soap box subject, so they went out to the state prison in Oregon and persuaded Jordan to give them his case and to kick out the association.

Our Portland branch pleaded with Jordan not to do this as it would certainly leave him in danger. Walter White wrote Jordan a most friendly warning, urging him to "reconsider" the matter and allow the association to continue his defense. The Communists dictated for Jordan a bombastic letter, which he signed at their request, telling us to get out of the case and let his business alone, that he wanted the I. L. D. You see, our Oregon representatives who went to see Jordan were colored leaders—and when these Communist "white gentlemen" came and told him to follow after them, like so many Negroes, he "fell."

And now he is going to die for it—
as did Euel Leo in Maryland, and
two eviction rioters in Chicago, and
two in Cleveland, and the "Camp
Illini" farmers, and the probably in-
nocent victims of the "Tuscaloosa
lynchings." Also the Scottsboro boys
are really in greater danger today,
two years after, than they were in
when the I. L. D. persuaded those
ignorant boys and their relatives to
sign a telegram disavowing Darrow
and Hays and the N. A. A. C. P. from
their case. Those boys are in danger
today either of losing their lives or
of wasting their lives in jail.
It is time that

It is this political organization of Communists stopped meeting in the "gro problem."

WILLIAM PICKENS
Field secretary, N. A. A. C.
New York City, November 12, 1944

THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S INTEREST IS ANTI-FASCIST
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "T-2"

Never trust simply a diplomat's words; they sometimes lie. But listen to his interests; they always tell the truth. His interests may lead toward honor or dishonor, humanity or brutality,-- but you can always trust what they say.

For the American Negro's real position, as between fascism and democracy, let us find where his interests lie, rather than try to pick our way through the mazes of words uttered by his newspapers, speech-makers, and other artists. These words are often illogical, and sometimes even contradictory. Sometimes the word-maker does not know just where his best interest lies, and his words are confusing. But the Negro who is intelligent enough to look through the history of his 320 years in America and do a bit of thinking, cannot favor the suppression of minorities,-- of any kind of minority, racial, religious or political. His race has been controlled and rebbed by fascism during all these centuries, for fascism is nothing new in human government. It is a new name for a trick that is old, about as old as government itself. Mussolini and his henchmen gave it the current name, but the trick was equally well known to the elder-time Caesars, to Nero and Caligula,-- and doubtless to the elder Pharaohs and the newer Genghis Kahn. Fascism is the most complete negation of democracy, of liberty and equality. It is the absolute domination of the weak by the strong. And when we speak of strong and weak, we mean nothing moral, spiritual or intellectual, for the basic virtue of fascism is brute force and physical power. Its chief attributes are as devoid of moral virtue as is the idea of "fitness" in "the survival of the fittest". The fittest to survive in the brute world may be simply the sharpest claw or the biggest liar. Man has spent a million years working up toward certain moral values; fascist society discards them all, and sets the clock back to the most primitive beginnings. The fascist states best known to us throw aside all religious and humane considerations and follow only their de-

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sired aims and their supposed interests. They are callous in betraying friends; unhesitating in murdering opponents. The dominant fascist machine cannot, of course, be the majority, but it must control the majority. Any opposition must be immediately encircled and treated as a minority and a traitor. No rivalry can be brooked.

When an American Negro speaks against in favor of ~~Hitlerism~~ Hitlerism or against the Jew, his words spring either from ignorance or from spite: from ignorance of the true nature of Hitlerism, which is at least as much anti-Negro as it is anti-Jewish, or from spite at the hypocrisy of Americans, who get so "hot up" about harrows over the Rhine, while remaining so indifferent to like, or worse, harrows down the Mississippi. But in a right mind about his own interests, ~~many~~ no American Negro can favor the downing of the Jew for being a Jew; for the Negro knows that in this country if the Jew is put at the bottom, the Negro will be put somewhere under the bottom. In a certain way the American Negro has ²relieved the American Jew of much oppression: in the north where there are fewer Negroes, anti-Jewish discrimination is more pronounced, and we hear of Jews being shut out of places of recreation and some hotels,-- these not owned by Jews. But even in the north the Negro, few as he is, is far more circumscribed than is the Jew. On the other hand in the south, where the Negro is on the average a fourth part of the population and in some communities more than half of it, the anti-Negro sentiment is so ~~ex~~ strong that, like a greater pain, it renders southern society almost unconscious of any anti-Jewish feeling. On the background of the far greater "black problem", the Jew stands out simply as a part of the "white" world. So, anti-Jewish feeling in the south has remained in great abatement, in spite of the fact that this ex-slave territory is the most dangerously fascist part of the United States, as witness the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. It is difficult for any ~~people in this first class~~

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against more than one other people at a given time. In the southern community the Jew, in business, in the professions and in intellectualism, is accepted largely because there is little hate-energy left to be spared against him. If there were no black men in Georgia and Mississippi, the Jew would find these states far less civilized for his life than are New York and Massachusetts.

On the other hand, German society presented Hitler with Jews but with practically no Negroes. There were a few beautiful little ~~br~~ brownies left along the Rhine by the black African French troops who did post-war patrol duties for the allies in these parts. The last we heard of them was in the early days of Hitlerism, when these children were mostly in their early 'teens, and when the dictator was planning to take them from their German mothers and sterilize them, and so rid Germany of an even that small smattering of pigmented levelness.-- That ought to be sufficient to show the American Negro where he would have stood, if he had been a minority in Germany at the rise of Hitlerism. The German Jew stood alone as a racial victim, and he caught the full savage onslaught of fascism. And yet only a fraction of one per cent of the German nation was ^WJewish, before the annexations of Austria and other smaller states. If only there had been as many Negroes in Germany as Jews, Hitler would have been so vicious in his attacks upon the blacks that the Jews would have been at least partly saved. In Berlin in 1932, just a few months before Hitler, I was told that there were not more than 30 Negroes in that great city, these being mostly musicians and theatre performers, few if any of them being citizens of democratic Germany. On many visits to Germany I had never seen one of them, but only heard of them. They awakened no social consciousness then, and for their own sakes I trust that not one of them is so unfortunate as to be there now. There were a few more Negroes in some of the port cities, like

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Bremen and Hamburg, brought there in pre-war days, when Germans owned African colonies and were kicking blacks around in the southwestern and southeastern parts of that continent. (13)

In the famous infamous book in which Hitler has written down the purposes and ambitions of his fascist life, and despite the fact that Germany had no Negroes for him to worry about at that time, the dictator nevertheless goes out of his way to show his vile hatred of the Negro race, wherever he mentions it. The Negro can draw only the conclusion that, if he were under Hitler power, he would be the chief object of National Socialist attack; just as post-war Ku Kluxism set itself first against the Negro in Georgia, and wishing later on to spread out and increase its income, it found that in the northeast the Jew offered a better mark, while in the middle and northwest the "furriner" was the best hate-object. Later still it discovered that the Catholic church, being a religious minority, could be set upon through the ~~means~~ ^{negroes} and sadists of some of the other churches. Thus the Klans "took in too much territory" and in a country that was very prosperous and could laugh; and so finally failed or at least were greatly reduced. But the American Negro group was the matrix and the ⁴bête noir, the first and last inspiration of the whole devilment. And even as late as May, 1939, the knightly Klansmen of the State of Florida paraded in the streets of Miami with conspicuous nooses, and burned crosses and hung black effigies in and near the Negro residence sections,-- trying to frighten Negroes out of exercising their right to vote in an election.

In this life choices are often only among evils, among which wisdom tries to pick the least or the lesser. Against democracy in the United States the Negro has great grievances: for its one hundred and fifty years it has been for him full of hypocrisy. And the democracies and constitutionally limited monarchies of Europe have for the last

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one hundred years made a mess of their imperialism in Africa. But if any one thing could make even imperialism worse, that added thing would be fascism. Germans under the Kaiser were cruel in their African colonies and their brutalities were proverbial. But what would happen to these Africans if they were now turned over to Hitlerism, which has respect neither for religion nor humanity, neither for treaty nor truth? The German cry for African colonies may be only a blackmail threat to make France and England acquiesce in fascist domination of middle Europe, but that cry is nevertheless a challenge to the Negro everywhere; for if the fascists succeed in reducing England and France, there is no doubt that they will seize all or much of Africa. Two hundred million black slaves would add some butter to German cannon, magnificent man-power to its force-politics, and a voteless consumer-market to the mass product of its factories.-- It is no praise of imperialism to say that they may offer a choice of evils and that the fascist type is the worst.

Specific illustrations could be endlessly advanced, but if this is the situation of the Negro in America, and if that is the prospect of the Negro in Africa, what must be the attitude of the American Negro toward the spread of fascism in his own country? He should fight it,-- fight it when it attacks Jews, fight it when it attacks political minorities, fight its attacks on any group,-- fight its very existence. If it were not so pitifully tragic, it would still be ludicrous and amusing to hear any American Negro approving of attacks upon the Jew. Of course there are unworthy Jews, just as there are unworthy Negroes, unworthy Anglo-Saxons, and (God forgive me!) unworthy Aryans aplenty. But such reasoning from particular to general is silly. It has been used against the American Negro for generations. But the oppressor seldom uses such reasoning in reverse: that excellent Jews or excellent Negroes might as well determine our opinions of

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all Jews and all Negroes. That would be as poor logic as the other (15) way around, but far more pleasing. When white Americans want to attack American Negroes, they speak of "niggers" kings or chicken thieves, not of Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington; when German fascists want to attack the Jew, they speak of criminals, profiteers and war-mongers, not of Heine, or the Mendelssohns or Einstein. That is an old trick of attack, which neither the Negro nor the Jew ought to use against the other. As total groups they are both but human and reflect their environments: a Negro landlord in Mississippi will rob his black tenants like other landlords; a Jew in Mississippi is likely to be just another "white person", and even in New York he is likely to assume toward black people the same snobbish attitudes which the other whites affect. Persecuted minorities are even apt to lean over ~~backward~~ backward in these foolish attitudes,-- just as a white Negro who is "passing", will run a great deal faster when he sees a black Negro coming than a bona fide white person will run. But all these foibles are human, not racial. Both Jew and Negro have the same interest against fascism: if either is downed, the other is downed, albeit ~~the~~, in a "white" world, the blacks would get the worse deal of the two.

Fascism in America is far more inexcusable than fascism in Germany or Italy: for the United States has a bill of rights, a constitution and laws, all of which expressly forbid or oppose fascism. The 14th amendment was made to protect Americans, Negroes in particular, against fascist laws and administration. There is no 14th amendment to protect minorities in Germany; there everything that the ruling gang may decide to do, is legal and constitutional. And yet with our abundant laws our fascism far antedates Hitler's. Is the Jew disfranchised in Germany? That is old stuff with the Negro in Mississippi. Yellow benches for Jews in Germany? Well, peanut galleries, third balconies,

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and side views for American Negroes. Segregated travel in Germany? We invented that in South Carolina. Brutal and beastly violence against Jews in Germany? We have over five thousand recorded lynchings in America, more than four thousand of the victims being Negroes and the other thousand being poor whites or whites whom our fascist lords did not like. Is the Jew now being robbed of part of his economic share of public school funds in Germany? For over 60 years in our American south the Negroes have been robbed of (to understate it) three fourths of their due share of public educational funds. Does Hitler yell about "Aryanism" and "racial purity"? Well, that hypocritical nonsense has rung in the Negro's ears for 300 years in the America, while the dominant white race was merrily forcing its blood into the black group until today at least nine-tenths of our Negroes have more or less of that other blood. Water-curing Jews in Germany? Why, we fire-cure Negroes in America.

In America we have this difference: a constitution, a 14th amendment, and a supreme court. Nothing of the sort exists for the Jew and the other disinherited in Germany. We can fight. I speak, write, and publish this article. That cannot be done in Germany. Our foundation idea is liberty; in Germany there is no liberty and no respect for that idea. We can even muster two thousand policemen to protect a German fascist meeting, while it attacks us in our own land. We have a democracy, something worth fighting for. Its quality of liberty makes the most imperfect democracy preferable to the best of fascism.-- The choice of sides by the American Negro should be easy. Where there is liberty, there is hope. A sane man cannot love everything in America, but he can come very near to a one hundred per cent hatred of the very essence of fascism.

William Pickens,

Wm. Pickens

69-- Fifth Avenue, N.Y. City-----

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-3"

I AM AN AMERICAN

By William Pickens

Some of the refugees and other visitors, coming to us from Europe these days, are astonished at the American people: "It seems so strange that you are not seizing Canada or Bermuda or Jamaica,-- Newfoundland, Greenland, the Bahamas, Trinidad, the French West Indies, the foreign-held territories of Guiana; and that you are not at least bullying Mexico, ordering Central America about and dictating to South America!"

That seems strange to these people from Europe, where the international gangsters are seizing and subjecting or "protecting" every land in their reach and which cannot defend itself: Hitlerism has seized and pillaged, and enslaved, nine nations and their people, and is still going strong. Stalin has been making hay while the sun shone for him. Mussolini in the most contemptible action of all history has run in for his grab, after Hitler had made the way easy for Italy to move in. Russia is taking what Russia will be able to keep more easily than either Germany or Italy will be able to keep what they are now taking.

If any of these fellows were situated in these United States, Canada would have been seized months ago,-- for "protection"; and Jamaica and Bermuda and the Bahamas, and all else in the seas to the south of the United States would have been invaded, as a defense measure for the Panama Canal,-- or any other excuse.

But we are Americans,-- all of us except Lindbergh,-- and we are not hurrying to play the coward. If ever we take these territories, I predict, that it will be genuinely for our protection and for theirs,-- to keep them from falling into the hands of those monstrous European ravishers and to protect our own freedom to remain civilized.

It seems horrible to me that anybody should ever have gotten the impression that I am not for America because I have had to fight all my life against certain things in America,-- and will doubtless fight all the rest of my life against them: against lynchors, disfranchisers, segregators, oppressors, and all the other enemies of the real America. None of these things are America, but all of them are the enemies of America. If we are consistent in our Americanism, our fight against these internal enemies of America assures that we will fight just as hard, or harder, against any external or any invading enemy of America. I will fight Bilbo, of Mississippi, and all like Bilbo, until I die. But I am not a fool: and if Hitler attacks us, I fight with Bilbo against Hitler,-- and will go right on fighting Bilbo for America, and for the people of America.

It is a shock to commonsense to hear Negroes who have been parts of the British empire, in the West Indies, for many generations, and who have had to fight for their rights there, and who had at least the RIGHT AND LIBERTY TO FIGHT,-- to hear such people now proclaiming that they are not for British liberty, that they hope Hitler will ruin all Britain. They seem to lack the logical sense to see that such an attitude makes all their previous fight for domestic equality IN BRITAIN a lie: they were, then, never for the best that was in Britain, but were always and only for themselves. Their fight had been all along a purely and narrowly selfish fight.-- I am proud of America, and I will continue to fight for it,-- against all enemies, inside our country and outside of it. We must win both fights. If we lose either, we lose both.

I AM AN AMERICAN.

Wm. Pickens-----

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-5"

BRITAIN BATTLE FOR CIVILIZATION
by William Pickens.....

1940
(20)

Narrow minds and malicious anti-British people will fail to see in this moment that the battle which Britain is putting on for Britain is also a battle for all the world's decency and civilization. The fact that Britain has a great stake in that battle, does not mean that underlying truth one whit. Fascist fifth-columnists, cunning traitors and plain fools will still say that British history has been as full of wickedness as German history,-- as if the talk was about "history"! Relative wickedness of the past is always a debatable question,-- but it is not the question of the present. The present question is: On which side of this fight lies the interest of freedom for today and for tomorrow?

If that British line breaks, the world will know chains and horrors and suppression of freedom such as it has not known for many a generation.-- All nations have wickednesses in their past, including our own. If we should take an attitude against the present action of a society solely because of its past, we should have to oppose all people, including our own.

IN THE PRESENT the Union Jack stands for the salvation of Europe and the security of America. That fact is so plain that it is marvelous that any person could pretend otherwise, whatever his attitude toward England or toward Hitlerism. A few years from now the dullest minds will see that clearly. Maybe a few months from now. Only a few months ago (remember?) we had the fight of our lives to repeal a foolish "neutrality law", which would have aided only Germany and all the worst enemies of our democracy. Mr. Roosevelt had to fight and plead and pull for more than six weeks to get that plainly right thing done. Borch and all his kind were opposed and fought with fair and foul means against what is now plainly the only sane thing we could have done. A year or two ago, even the mention of enlarging the navy or increasing our ridiculous little army by a few thousands, brought howls of opposition about taxes, militarism, and waste, etc. Now we rush forward toward a two-ocean navy. There are still some howls against this, but the howlers are now insignificant, at least impotent. Two years ago would have been a much better time to begin the expansion of that navy than now.

"It is not our war". That's silly: if there were a great plague in Europe, threatening to sweep the world, it would not be "our plague" either,-- which fact would not alter our relation to it or our chance from it one little bit. Slogans are almost always foolish things, made to take the place of brain action: "our war", "foreign war", "rival imperialists", "war of defense", "our soil" and the other fellow's soil,-- and wars of "invasion". All peppycock! War is always war. If there is a little war in Europe, as between Italy and Greece, America may remain reasonably aloof to it. If there is a big war, as between France and England, it is idiotic to think that America can remain indifferent to it. If there is a universal conflict, such as is raging now, it is madness to think that it is "none of our affair".

Of course the British are aiming first of all to save themselves,-- but if they save themselves in this instance, they will incidentally save civilization, the best that is in it. And what a people they will be if they succeed!-- If they fail, God help us----- taxes, munitions, militarism, vigilant waiting,-- doubt, distrust, tyranny.

Wm. Pickens-----

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ONE YEAR OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR
And-- "I Told You So"----

By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
 WILLIAM PICKENS
 EXHIBIT "F-4"

About all who will read this, will have read many other editorials of mine on this war. And many who read this, will be from among those who heard my speech in Los Angeles, California, one year ago when the war broke out. And all of these will know the unswerving attitude and opinions and arguments in all of these speeches and editorials for the entire year. All will know the unity and consistency of these pronouncements, and most will acknowledge.

It was to be a meeting of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles, but that branch always, and especially under its present president, Thomas L. Griffith, has been awake to things far beyond the city limits of that municipality. Therefore I was asked, at the last minute, to ignore lynching and disfranchisement and segregation for one hour and devote my energies to the war that had just broken out in Europe.

I took the position, and have held it, that our interest lay with the Allies, then England and France; that the British were our front line of defense; that "neutrality" was dangerous humbug; that we should support Franklin Roosevelt, the President, in his efforts to repeal our foolish "neutrality law"; that ~~whatever~~ whatever their domestic differences and quarrels and fights, AMERICANS of all races, colors, creeds and politics had a common interest in the success of the Allies and the defeat of Hitlerism; that all shenanigans and pretenses to the contrary, in Congress and out of it, would only lead to confusion and danger, and possibly to disaster. In the face of that common danger I proclaimed myself an AMERICAN, before all else.

The Germans had just sunk a ship laden with American whites and bound for the United States, north of Kinsale Ireland. Many of these on board were young Tommy. I said: "What matters it that these Americans were from Texas, Texas with which the Negro race has a great home fight? They are Americans and any of us might have been in their place." I called attention to the fact that Hitler's crowd were lying when they tried to fasten responsibility on the British for the submarine's attack. And I said that we could expect more and more of just such morals from the dictators.

There were about 1,000 people in that audience, and the mix weather was as hot as hell,-- but they cheered to the echo,-- not so much, perhaps, because they exactly followed my logic, but because they have been conditioned for 15-odd years to respect my sincerity and to believe in the honesty of my expressions. Whether I was right or wrong, they knew that I meant what I said. Many of them disliked Britain and the British record against the interests of colored races. My half-answer to that was that Hitlerism would be a hundredfold worse, and that wisdom would not try to substitute the worse for the bad. I said boldly that I disapproved English civilization and English morals, even if we without were to live on the moon and only looked on as observers,-- without any harm to ourselves. And I say that now, again, 15 months after.

I called attention to the fact that the British fleet was our only hope of saving ourselves, and that that would fail unless that fleet could build and keep going fast as to build-- build-- build,-- and prepared to fight. At the highest times, even a ten per cent tax on our 25 cent a gallon gasoline, we are building a two-ocean navy. We are fighting our way through the Atlantic and sending ships to the British. Much is done.

W. Pickens

SECRET

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WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-15"

LEON TROTSKY
BY WILLIAM PICKENS FOR ANP

So, they finally got Trotsky. The man who murdered him says that he killed Trotsky because the latter remarked that the murderer would be a "fool to marry" a certain girl. Nobody kills anybody for warning not to marry, especially when the one giving the warning cannot interfere with the marriage. In such a case, if the fellow commits murder, he thereby prevents his own marriage.

When anybody of ordinary brains even wants to murder a person, it can always be done, barring some accidents. When Abraham Lincoln was warned not to go riding any more out to the Old Soldiers Home, he kept going, remarking that if he was to be murdered, refraining from visiting the home would not prevent the accomplishment of the murder. He knew that when a man is marked for determined murder, those on the hunt for him have all the advantages. They know WHEN. He does not know when, or where. He must look in a thousand directions, while his would-be murderer must look in only one direction. He must guard every minute, while the assassin must concentrate on one. -- Lincoln had, as usual, the sense to see this, and to conclude that if he refrained from taking his nice rides to the home, his murderers would kill him anyway, -- and then he would be minus

both his life and his nice rides. -- He kept on going to the home, -- and was later murdered in a theatre, with officers on guard to protect him.

But Trotsky certainly lengthened his life by 13 years, by leaving Russia and leaving Stalin in charge since 1927. Wherever he went, they pursued him, whether he was in Turkey, in France or in North Europe, -- or finally in Mexico. They were always willing to try and try again, -- with the perseverance of the devil.

Trotsky's record is now history, interesting history. When I saw him in 1927 (early part of the year) in Moscow, he proved to be one of the most interesting and affable and congenial of men. This man who had helped Lenin to lay the foundations of the new Russia and had made and led the Russian army to victory, seemed to be absolutely unconscious of having any status except that of a man, a friendly and interested human. Whatever his enemies may say of him, he still was a great man because he never once "played at" being "great."

But what is one to do when the one who is perhaps finally appointed by the enemy to "get" him, goes to the extent of courting the sister of the secretary of the intended victim, and worms himself into the inner circle as practically a member of the family, -- and then, suddenly, when alone with the unsuspecting, uses his pick-axe on him?

At any rate, Trotsky stayed off murder for more than a decade of intense pursuit of him. We wonder how long Stalin and Hitler will be able to stay unmurdered. Perhaps their success to date has been due to the advantage of staying inside and of OWNING all the murder machines that were inside with them. Still, we wonder, how long it will be?

What a murderous world! -- We liked Trotsky as a human. We found much less favor with any of his political plans. But we DETEST his murderers.

PEACE, PEACE TO THE "PEACE" SOCIETIES
By: William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-12"

Every American who thinks at all should now take his position on the matter of the defense of this country, and of this hemisphere, and incidentally of the best of civilization,--either with the program laid out by the President of the United States, or against that program. "Neutrality" in such a situation is cowardice, when it is not mere idocy. I am confessing that, although my name is on the roll of at least one of them, the seven Peace organizations that recently met in Washington to influence the attitude of government on arms and armaments, have greatly disappointed me in their pronouncements--some of them being silly pronouncements,--like that one comparing the President's concern about defense against foreign attack on this continent to the scare about the "invasion from Mars" which actor Welles threw into simple minds over the radio.

One would almost conclude that these peace organizations, with some very important people in them, are mostly run by nuts; that they have no real program beyond silliness and insults. The President's proposal to have an adequate armed air fleet, and an adequate navy and a slightly bigger army than we have ever before had in peace days, deserves better consideration. If any one can honestly disagree with the President, it must be only a relative disagreement: for example, when the President calls for about 10,000 war planes, any sane person might aver that 7,000 would be sufficient, or even 5,000,--or less. But only a fool can simply shrug aside: "We do not need any military preparations". Such a fool will not be misled by the great masses of Americans. They know better. This old world is not yet a Paradise of Pacifists. To keep America out of war is a sensible proposition,--but to do so by impotency is an idiot's dream. This country has more in it than will tempt the invader than any other country on earth; therefore it has more to defend. Hard-headed people cannot be hypnotized into the belief that the same forces which would rape a barren Ethiopia and butcher a

...to the "Peace" Societies--

Spain or a non-patched China, would refrain on moral grounds to attack this country,--if ever they would get away with it. We are safe here only so long as we believe that we are capable of defeating them in such an event. The doubt that to the contrary could only be brought to its issue by a good fight with a Fascist host.

Now we are with the President in his program, or ready to accept any modification of that same program--but the more we are with the "moral conscience" of the world, the more we are ready to march right on over him or through him. We believe, not only in the defense of New York and San Francisco, but in the defense of Montreal, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires,--which in certain respects might be the very best places to begin our defense of our own country. And we believe in being fully prepared for the whole job. If the President show us that we are already prepared, or that we do not need the full amount of preparation which the President has in mind, let the President show us. But the general idea is already settled for most of us. And the Negroes of America, who helped to build, create and defend this country,--who were five thousand strong with George Washington when he started Bunkerhill at Yorktown, who according to Abraham Lincoln were necessary to the saving of the Union, who have sweated and bled and fought for civilization here, are going to be, as they have always been, about 10 and some fraction of percent for the defense of democracy and the ideal of equality,--right here!

WILLIAM PICKENS

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-13"

"IF WE DON'T HAVE A WAR"

By William Pickens---

How silly Hitler and Mussolini make themselves look, for going into a froth at the mouth simply because President Roosevelt, of the United States, tells his people in Georgia, when he is about to leave them, that he will be back later if we don't have a war. It all shows how insecure and frightened the poor "dictators" must be. "Hellzapoppin'" needs a scene with Roosevelt sneezing and the dictators bumping out of their skins.

"If we don't have a war"--- since when has any American lost the right to say that?-- Of course, there are other things which Roosevelt might have said, but which he was too polite to say: a plain American citizen can say them for him: He will be able to go back to Georgia if the dictators do not start a war and make it necessary for him to stick on the job in Washington, trying to help the democracies to lick the devil out of Hitler and Mussolini. He did not say that,-- but the dictators know that that is what the American people mean to do, if it becomes necessary.

If there is a war with Hitler and Mussolini on one side of it, there is no doubt that the sympathies, the goods, the money, and finally the lives of the American people will be standing up on the other side.

The idea of "isolationism" in the world as it is now made, shows that such thinkers live in the past world, not in the present one. Some of our peace-loving people are really foolish; they imagine that we can keep peace and prosperity, and DEMOCRACY, not only in the western hemisphere, but even north of the Rio Grande, while all the rest of the world goes totalitarian and mad.

George of Georgia, who has not even the good sense to want to pass an anti-lynching bill, hates Roosevelt,-- and has good reason to do so, for Roosevelt does not especially love him; but there is no reason why George should froth along with Hitler just because the President makes a remark to his own people which any American citizen, including George, is privileged to make. The President tried to get Georgia to keep George at home last election, but that is a domestic fight, an American fight,-- and enough of our fellow-citizens disagreed with the President to cause George to get back into the Senate. That is settled, by Americans. Now it is like "like the boys" for the fellows to keep up that fight,-- after it's over.

WE CANNOT STAY OUT OF A WAR WITH DEMOCRACY FIGHTING A LIFE-AND-DEATH FIGHT ON ONE SIDE OF IT,-- AND WE WON'T STAY OUT. That is so clear that it seems that any congressman or senator might understand it. But there are some people in congress with far less sense than the sense of the hog-callers whose votes count more than theirs.

What of Mussolini and Hitler? They haven't to "take sides", not merely to remark to their friends; when Chamberlain was flapping at Munich, Mussolini had already started out: "Italy's side has already been chosen". And Hitler has hurried to O.K. Mussolini's cowardly rape of the little people of Austria, and indicated that he is ready to help Italy (with its 44 millions) to have Austria (with its one million).

Those of our people who imagine that we can stay out of the nothing to do with matters that will decide the future of the world, we can go right on eating fat food and wearing fine clothes. The people are just as wise as was Chamberlain at Munich and the Berchtesgaden. They live in good houses. They are in the United States; on the earth. If we have war, some of us will have to hang or imprison some of the others. We cannot look the matter straight in the face.

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-12"

'But the Southerners in Congress Are for It!'

Just think, people of that being given to me by a man in a recent audience, in "question period," as the same reason why I should be AGAINST the bill to aid England and so defend America. Think of the lack of brains in such a position as that! As if a thing had to be WRONG simply because the southerners (white) are for it. It reminds me of what Booker T. Washington used to tell about the old colored man's politics in "Reconstruction" days: The old man would go down to the town square, before election time, and lean against the telegraph poles and listen slyly to the talk of the white people, to hear how they intended to vote, and when asked about that interest, he explained it thusly: "Well, you see, I'm tryin' to find out how I must vote, and when I learn how the white folks is goin' to vote, I know that I must vote agin' it".

Only—this question in my audience did not come from a colored man, but from a white university man in a university town.

Of course Carter Glass is and was for the Lend Lease bill—but so was and am I. That is one thing on which Carter Glass and I agree. We disagree hopelessly on the Anti-Lynching bill and on Jim Crow. But it is foolish to pretend to disagree on everything, because we disagree on some very important things.

Without the almost solid South behind our defense movement, the President would never have been able to make any progress with that movement. The southerners are Americans, and it happens to be that they are American next to the Negro American himself. The rest of the country is largely European and of other more recent foreign origins. Not considering the American Indian, who, by the way, has not taken as very much to American developments in the last 200 years, and who has almost disappeared, the truest Americans of all is the American Negro. The whites started coming

here 12 years before the Africans started coming here. BUT the African stopped coming here 22 years ago this year, —and during that 22 years most of the whites who are here have come here. That is, American whites have come here since the Negro STOPPED COMING.

Bad as America is, it is the American Negro's only hope of the future, the near future, at least. And next to the American Negro is the southern white man. The southerner is a much older American, no the whole, than are the whites of the rest of the land.

When it comes to an international problem, the southern whites and the blacks, if they use their heads instead of their gall bladders, are most apt to agree together. In defense of America the Negro (when he thinks) will be second to nobody, and the whites of Texas and South Carolina will be second to no white people. There is no great room for differences; the southern whites want to keep their national freedom and their rights—even their rights to keep trying to keep the Negro down. And the Negro wants to keep his American rights—his rights to fight like the devil against being kept down. Under Hitler or any other foreigner, both of these old Americans would lose their good American rights—for the foreigner would keep BOTH of us down—white and black.

And besides, an American who brains will not be for any one but in order to be OK. FORTS for southern Negroes.

**Robert R. Moton
Memorial Service
Friday, April 6**

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE — Service in memory of Dr. Robert R. Moton, second president of Tuskegee, will be held Friday afternoon, April 6, in the institute chapel. Speakers will be Leo Pavot and Dr. Channing M. Tobias.

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

"Short of War" What?

The President is right. We should lend or give to Britain, rather than suffer the calamity of a British defeat in this war. Mrs. Roosevelt is correct, too: that it is time to speak of giving, rather than of lending. But that lends emphasis to that nonsense about "short of war" help,—unless we simply mean that while we aid Britain, we are not aiming to go to war with Germany and Italy, and Japan, unless they start the fight against us. But we cannot sensibly say that we will stand against British defeat; "short of war." No, sirree, we will, if we have sense, stand the battle line.

If Germany and Italy and Japan choose to let us alone while we help Britain with our money, our credits, our ships, our guns and our explosives, and while we allow our young men to join the British air forces, and while we not only cheer British victories but do all we can to bring them to let us alone while we do that, there will be no further activity in this war by us.

But if we are attacked, or if we ever see clearly that the only way to prevent the defeat of the British Empire is to join the fight by Britain's side, it is my prediction that we will join up. And I know that we should join up, even to try to prevent such a calamity to this world. Long as we live in it.

Most of the radio commentators have put out: "Short of war!" Our half-hearted politicians try to keep out of trouble by chiming: "Short of war!" The phrase is becoming silly. It is losing its diplomatic value. We do not mean just that.

and really, I think we mean it. We do mean that we hope that our aid will not draw us into the active fighting.

But if it does, we are ready, most of us, to back up our other aid with our powerful navy and with our army,—in the western hemisphere, or finally, wherever effectively for the purposes of our in the world that army can operate effectively for the purpose of own victory, if we have to enter the active war.

"Short of war" does not really mean short of war. It means that we hope it will not lead to war. But if it leads to war,—we shall be there.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-10"

IEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

F a speech like that made by Franklin D. Roosevelt on Saturday evening, March 15, fails to arouse some American to stand up and fight for democracy and freedom, there is something radically wrong, not merely with that American's "Americanism," but with his human regard. Thank heaven for a country, wherein its leaders can still speak without guile and without equivocation—and without half-heartedness and fear.

Think of the poor and humiliated countries of Europe today: not a man in any one of them, except Britain and Greece, can make a plain, straight, from-the-shoulder speech about anything—and especially not about international relations and this war. Here is a great republic, which fifteen years ago, almost two years ago, then ought to have been, to stand and fight for freedom in its own borders and in the world of like-minded peoples—and its chief executive can speak out so plainly, so honestly, and with such straightforwardness that the simplest mind in any continent can understand it.

Contrast that with the abjectness of the Russian leadership for almost two years now—with a diplomacy so double-dealing and crooked that nobody, including the Russians themselves, knows until this day what Russia really does or is what they mean to do or attempt.... America is, with Turkey and Japan, standing and having no halfhearting, and using its words to cover up their intentions and to conceal their

Contrast With Russian Leadership

Contrast it with the wobbly knees and the wishwashiness of the Spanish leadership, which, like that other south European in Italy, seems waiting and waiting, trying first to see, not what is right and best for the world and its future, but WHO IS GOING TO BE THE WINNER, so as not to be bet on the "wrong horse."

Then there is poor France, ex-France! Overthrown by its traitors and fifth columnists, piping low, half-bewildered, half-starved and not even half-hearted, trying at one moment to appease the German threat and to ward it off. Contrast all this with the position of the people of the United States, as spoken through their President: honest, earnest, determined, with no bridges for retreat cunningly devised behind them.

For us Americans there is just one word, Napoleon's favorite word, even when he was uncertain of the ultimate outcome, one word which he could always utter and always uttered even in the greatest danger: *bonapartisme*.

WFO 101-2190
 WILLIAM PICKENS
 SENATE "F-9"

THAT "TRADE-LANE" BILL
 By William Pickens

March, 1941

Thank God for that Senate majority! It is a large answer to Hitler's charge that democracies are made up of mumbokulls, who will only talk and talk until they talk away their opportunities to act; and that the democratic legislatures are made up of self-seeking, rival windbags, each one trying to grab something for himself; and that each nation which he intended to attack would try to pin him far out of his war until it was "too late".

This bill, this law, says to Hitler and his stooge, Mussolini, that this nation across the Atlantic intends for Britain and Greece and China to get dues out of this struggle, even if we have to stake our existence on that result. It says that we will stay out of the actual physical struggle if and so long as it is consistent with this end of victory for these nations that are defending their liberties and our liberty,-- but that it is now in the power and privilege of Germany or Italy or Japan to invite us into the deadly conflict at any minute,-- and that if we are invited, we shall enter it. It says that we want peace, but that we want some other things more than we want life-- and that neither for peace nor life will we do any disgraceful "appeasing".

Thank God for America! Today, Sunday, March 9, 1941, I believe in God more than I ever did before in my life. Here we have this America in which a two-thirds majority of the representatives of the people, and we believe a much bigger majority of the people themselves, are ready to live or to die by certain high principles,--but to stand by these principles in any event. With all the frail, weak and wicked elements that are in it, America is still a great country of a great people.

We are proud, too, of this democratic process by which a majority could still hold up legislation for a period, by debate and discussion, and even by some wretched opposition and political motives,-- legislation that the country as a whole had gradually come to demand from the day of the "isolationism" of Borah, on through the weak nonsense of Limbergh, to the political intrusiveness of the Wheelers and the Clarks. There can be no doubt that the President of the United States had a better sense for the wishes of the people in this law, than had these opposing gentlemen. Still we thank heaven for the democratic right which allowed them to say their say, even almost to the point of disgraceful filibuster. The immoral habit of filibustering on domestic issues, on which a majority of the legislature and of the people were already united, might have proved a calamity for the republic, if it had been allowed to run loose in this case.

That brings us to this thought: Will that 33 percent minority, which was allowed its full say, now stand for the support of the law which the great majority demanded and voted? They will testify to the honesty of their erstwhile opposition in proportion to their cooperation in administering and executing this law of the nation. We shall soon see. Any unfair obstruction tactics will tend still to justify Hitler and will be a menace to democracy,-- a democracy which this majority of the people, no less than this minority, loves.

The debate is over. Now for the action. We are naturally divided in debate. We should seek normal and wise unity in ACTION.

William Pickens

THE WAR--- GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-8"

Yes, it is our war. In spite of all our sophistries, we all know that we cannot afford to have Britain and France to lose against Nazism. Some say that Great Britain has been a great sinner among history's nations. The answer to that is: Yes, but in the present conflict the worst possible sinner is the German regime. No nation is without sin and crime; so that we have no choice between the sinful and the sinless. We can only choose among the sinners. And one must be foolish indeed not to find the choice easy between present Britain and present Germany,-- between imperfect democracy and almost perfect dictatorship.

What can we do? If Congress can see straight we shall make munitions, guns, gun-carriages; we shall raise food and weave cloth,-- and we ~~xx~~ stay within our national rights and say: Come and get it, any of you! Of course we will know that only England and France can come and get it for the present, and we shall not pretend that we are not glad of that. Indirectly we shall help these two nations.

The British Empire ^{is} standing by: We expected Canada and Australia and New Zealand to stand straight and to realize that the destruction of Britain would be their enslavement,-- ~~all~~ the enslavement of all except Canada, for after Britain only the United States can have Canada, unless the United States is first destroyed. But we were doubtful about South Africa,-- South Africa, one of the lowest civilizations in human history. But, behold, even South Africa has come through,-- after a fight with Her-
zog. That old race-hating leader wanted to favor the Germans, it seems, but Smuts, who always seemed to have more sense and more humanity than Herzog, took up the battle for Britain and swung even South Africa into line. If Britain should set South Africa adrift, how long do you suppose Capetown could hold out against a victorious or an unimpeded Hitler? India might hold back,-- but even India cannot wish that Hitlerism would defeat Great Britain; for without a navy and without a great army, India would lie open to any marauder. And what a marauder Hitler would be if he could get Britain out of his path!

And we of the United States,-- let us not kid ourselves; we are not going to see democracy lose this fight. We will furnish supplies and credits, and if that does not suit, we will furnish men, guns and money. It cannot be otherwise,-- if it becomes necessary. At the very start of this war, we are madder at Hitler than we were at the Kaiser even after the first World War had gone on for three years. One great victory Chamberlain's seemingly foolish patience achieved; it made it clear to all the world, outside of Germany, that Hitler and his minions have caused this war. Our sympathies are with England and France. Even Mussolini and Japan have seen straight, so far. We do not believe that Soviet Russia is so foolish as to do anything except guard her own frontiers.

Democracy and freedom and liberty,-- that is what we want in America, and what we will die to keep or to try to keep. Those Frenchmen and Englishmen now dying on the borders of western Germany are our front line. We know that. We hate war, but if war is there, and there by no will or wish of ours, we shall not be such fools as to take no account of its existence or of its sure consequences. If the present allies should lose to Germany, we should have to fight her alone,-- economically, politically and physically. Who doubts that? Our hearts and our interests are with Britain and France. Long live Democracy!

William Pickens---

X71
AGAIN THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-7"

At Lake Geneva, in Wisconsin, the young people of the United States have been standing up on their hind legs and talking some more,-- expressing sometimes their real sober sentiments, and sometimes just shooting off hot-air, smart-alecky fashion. I like to see them do it, for it is proof that, until this minute at least, America is still free America, where people can talk as they please, even when they please to talk non-sense, or to hint treason.

But I can have no idea that these young people will want to ruin their country in any case,-- any more than those British boys who a few years ago "swore" not to fight in any English wars, not even if England were attacked, up the Thames and on their Oxford campus. Many of those boys have died since in defense of their country, and are still fighting for it.

But these young people want, what all humans have always wanted, and will always want: Freedom, Security, Self-expression. They must know, however, that at this moment they have more of that than they would have in any other country: they could never speak in Germany or in Italy, as they speak in the United States; they could never disagree with Hitler or Mussolini, as they disagree with Roosevelt; they could not "sass" the government in those countries. And even in Russia, to which some of these American young people seem to be so idealistically attached, they could not for a moment disagree with Stalin, and live on to disagree again. Such liberty for these young people exists right now ONLY IN THE UNITED STATES. If they love such liberty, they will have to fight to keep and protect the United States, if a fight is made on the United States. And it does not matter a damn who starts the fight: whether the United States starts it, or whether some enemy starts it. If there is a fight and the United States' independence and self-hood is in jeopardy, the Americans will have to defend the United States, in order to defend the admirable liberty which these young people are taking.

Of course, they may fail, even at that: if the United States goes to war, certainly some of that liberty will be lost, at least for a time,-- at the very least during the progress of the war. But if you see any way to prevent that curtailment, I do not. The point however remains: THE ONLY CHANCE WE AMERICANS HAVE FOR SUCH LIBERTY AND FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS IS IN AMERICA, and in an America that can defend itself against Germany, Italy, or Russia, or Japan, and against the whole lot of them. That may be a slim chance, or slim or not, it still is the ONLY chance. Such liberty as these young people take, is worth fighting and dying for, even in the EFFORT to keep it, even if the effort proves to be a failure. It would be the lowest idiocy to say: We have the liberty to talk and disagree and sass and strike back in our country; because we can do almost as we please, we are going to destroy or to allow others to destroy the country, the only country, which gives us that liberty.

And I notice that these young people are guilty of a great error in reasoning, just like some of our older people: they think they can "compromise" on war,-- that they can say: O, yes, we'll help to defend America by fighting IN America, or even IN the western half of the world, but we won't go beyond that to fight. Poor young things! If a war is started, we'll fight wherever the fighting is to be done, from day to day: in California, in Massachusetts, in Canada, and in Mexico, in South America or in Europe or in Asia,-- or on the back side of

Against the American Youth Congress - #2.

the moon, -- wherever the fighting goes on with the necessity, or even TRYING to win that war. There is no such thing as starting a war without the hope of winning it,-- and there is no sense in setting limits to a war and to the fighting areas. That sort of stuffy stuff makes good talk while we are NOT AT WAR. But if we go to war, nobody is going to ask each individual soldier where he wants to fight: they will take him where the fighting is to be done, put the right fighting irons into his hands, and let him use his brilliant judgment for the rest of it.

There are only two choices, in case of war, for the individual: either he can refuse to go and take the consequences; or he can go, and take the consequences. If he refuses, he will either be shot or confined,-- unless he can start and WIN a private war of his own. If he goes, he will obey the orders,-- unless he again starts and WINS a private war of his own. In any and all cases it boils down to War for him, if there is a war.

None of that prevents us from doing all we can to avoid the necessity of war, of any war. But smart-alecky talk about treason; and nonsense about war, plus individual choices and liberties, at one and the same time,-- all that is iffoey. I do not believe American youth can ever be guilty of such a crime against its country and itself.

William Pickens.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-16"

DEADLINE RELEASE.....10

XXIX Jan, 1941 87
SENSES AGAINST WISHES

By William Pickens for
ANP

We all wish to stay out of the war, but our senses tell us that we are already in the war, as far as we think now that we need to go. If we ever think we should go further in, we shall go. Nobody wants war, but such a "peace" as we should have without the British navy and the British line east of us, would be far worse than war: both in dishonor and in cost. To maintain such a peace, we should have to arm as we never yet have armed for any war; we should have to tax as no nation has ever yet taxed itself; and we should have to drill, manufacture, maneuver and struggle as never before in our life as a nation. And after all that we should have to fight,-- and only God knows whether we should lose.

Nobody wants war: even Hitler and Churchill and Mussolini wish that they were out of it,-- especially Mussolini. But they ARE in it, and it would be suicidal for any one of them to wish and think and act for just one week as if he were not in the war.

The Atlantic, especially the north Atlantic and the short stretch of it between Africa and Brazil, is no more of a protection of the United States against hostile powers in Europe than both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are a protection of Italians in North Africa against the English from Great Britain. They are very feeble minds that look now upon the oceans as barriers instead of highways of approach.

It is not possible for us to regard men like Wheeler and Lindbergh as traitors, but there is certainly something they lack. Perhaps Wheeler in his old habit of wishing for isolation and peace, lacks the capacity for change, and lacks realism. Lindbergh never had any statesmanship, and he lacks about everything else, since he stopped flying.

Roosevelt and Willkie, Stimson and Knox, are four hard-headed Americans whose loyalty and patriotism nobody will question, and whose experience in statesmanship should inspire confidence. The basic proposals in the bill which they all support, should be granted by their fellow countrymen. The bill proposes to concentrate America's economic and military power in these troublous times. Some amendments to the bill could well be made: the time limit of two or three years should be set upon these extraordinary peace-time powers of the chief executive, and perhaps a representative of the congress which has the right to declare war, should be added to the administration of affairs to be created by this bill. But the bill should be passed, and at once.

The dictators should have the truths that the great majority of the American people are perfectly ready to go to war rather than to suffer the calamity of having the British empire smashed by its present enemies. And that is because the primary interest of Americans is not in the British Empire but in the American states. We see clearly that for the next hundred years at least, and maybe for the next thousand, we ride in the same boat with the great English speaking empire. We also know what happens to those who appease, or attempt to appease, fascism and militarism.

Our judgment reckons that it is far better for us to fight than it is for us to run any serious risk of a triumph on this earth of Hitlerism and Mussolinism.

ACTUAL CONTACTS

1. League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism
2. Daily Worker
3. Hands Off China Association
4. All-America Anti-Imperialist League
5. International Labor Defense
6. League Against Imperialism
7. Prisoners Relief Fund
8. National Organizing committee of the United States Congress Against War.
9. United States Congress against War.
10. National Committee United States Congress Against War.
11. American League Against War and Fascism.
12. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
13. New Masses.
14. Workers School.
15. American Rescue Ship Mission.
16. Council for Pan American Democracy.
17. United American Spanish Aid Committee
18. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
19. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
20. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.
21. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "M"

Mr. William Pickens, Promotional Specialist, War Savings Staff, made the statements summarized as follows, when his attention was directed to certain accusations purported to link him with Communism as set out in the Congressional Record of February 8, 1943, by Congressman Dies: 2-9-43

WZ Hermy

First. League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism.

I did not attend this meeting: the allegation may come from the fact that my name appeared in some literature, but I do not know this is a fact. At this time, I believe, I was in England making speeches under the auspices of the League.

Second. Daily Worker.

I do not recall specifically that I ever contributed an article especially for the Daily Worker; I may have. If so, it was not more than two or three times. I have been a prolific writer for the Associated Negro Press for about twenty-five years and it may be that the Daily Worker has reprinted my material. I don't know because I don't read the Daily Worker.

Third. Hands Off China Association.

To the best of my recollection, I was in New York as field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and some young people came to me in connection with the idea of Hands Off China. I did not associate this with politics and did not associate it with Communism. At this time, the Kuo-Min-Tang, or People's Party, which was being led by Chiang Kai Shek, was getting under way; the idea was Hands Off China, - China for the Chinese. As I said, I did not associate the Chinese activities in any way with Chinese or American Communists. I recall having received either a letter or a cablegram from Earl Browder asking for funds, upon which I took no action. I believe this was the first time that Earl Browder's name ever came pointedly to my attention. I did not then associate him

with the Communist movement. I did not release Browder's letter to the press. I perhaps showed it to some of my associates and Browder himself may have sent a copy.

Fourth. All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

I was invited to make a speech at the Anti-Imperialist Congress meeting at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, in 1928, I think. I am not sure now from just when the invitation came, but I am sure it was not from Communist sources. Part of my expenses were defrayed by contributions from such people as Lou Marshall, Rabbi Wise and John Haynes Holmes. A lot of my friends who had no Communist connections contributed. At that time, I was still Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and, of course, the Anti-Imperialist term, especially as it applied to Africa, was not obnoxious to our ideas. Incidentally, when I got to Frankfurt-am-Main, I found what I believed was a Russian Communist presiding the day I spoke and he tried to limit my speech from forty-five minutes to seven but as I spoke in German, he was not successful. Representatives of the Frankfurter Zeitung, then a conservative newspaper, commented on the democratic philosophy of my remarks.

Fifth. International Labor Defense.

When this group was organized, which I think was about 1929, it was represented as a nonpartisan organization dedicated exclusively to the defense of the laboring class. At that time, my political affiliation was with the Republican Party. I was sympathetic with a philosophy to safeguard the rights of labor, particularly colored laborers. I attended a couple of meetings, no more, and I then saw that the Communists dominated

the organization and I simply dropped out and had nothing further to do with them. I do not think my contact with these people lasted through the first year of the organization.

The reference to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is interesting inasmuch as I participated in action which removed her from a committee of American Civil Liberties Union on the grounds that she was a Communist and had given expression to extreme views.

Seventh. Prisoners Relief Fund.

I do not associate the Prisoners' Relief Fund as a Communist project, and it was not so presented to me. In view of my interest in the advancement of colored people, I would naturally subscribe to a project which might be concerned with the relief cases in which colored persons would find themselves prisoners.

Eighth. The National Organizing Committee of the United States Congress Against War.

Ninth. United States Congress Against War.

Tenth. National Committee United States Congress Against War.

Eleventh. American League Against War and Fascism.

This series of projects were concurrent with the rise of Hitler as a danger to our civilization. Because of my affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy, with many other non-Communist persons, we debated the advisability of going into an organization where the Communist Party was represented but finally decided that it was advisable because of the object to be attained. However, after the League Against War and Fascism was organized, Mary Fox, secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, wired me that she and Harry Laidler, Norman Thomas and other non-Communists

were resigning and suggested inasmuch as I had joined it at their instance, I might like to resign also. I immediately wired my resignation. Mr. J. B. Matthews was an active officer in the American League Against War and Fascism and its antecedent organizations.

Twelfth. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid
Spanish Democracy:

I did not conceive of the Spanish Civil War as a Communist enterprise; rather it occurred to me it was a fight of democracy against a Fascist regime. I was making a tour of Europe in 1935, and while I was in Paris it was suggested to me that I visit hospitals in the Republic of Spain. This suggestion came through people that I did not consider as Communists; I thought of it simply as a humanitarian venture. I went to Spain at my own expense. The only interest of the Medical Bureau was to see that I got a visa to visit Spain from the American State Department.

Thirteenth. New Masses.

This was in connection with a natural desire because of my interest in colored people to put forth our ideas wherever possible and in whatever form made available. I think the article referred to may be "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist". I believe the ideas expressed there find general approval among Americans and I do not think the article is Communist. I think the other article was on the "Poll Tax". That article also was not Communist, but simply represented the point of view of my organization.

Fourteenth. Workers' School:

This school, located within half block of my office in New York, offered me an opportunity, on what I believe only one occasion, to talk

before them. I did address the school on the work of my organization and the interest of the colored people and my remarks I made were not political or Communistic.

Fifteenth. American Rescue Ship Mission.

My appearance at this mass meeting was not because it was Communistic or controlled by Communists. I had been to Spain, I believed, in the cause of the Spanish Republic. I thought the project a good one. I appeared on the program with a member of Congress and others. I know that none of my speech was Communistic and I only related to what I saw in Spain.

Thirteenth. Council for Pan American Democracy.

I first became acquainted with some of the people connected with this organization through my interest in allowing negroes free entrance into Mexico. Some of these persons convinced me that Prestes was irregularly imprisoned in Brazil and likely to be murdered. This appealed to me because I have been concerned with similar cases involving colored people in this country where I have solicited the support of others. I was not concerned with this organization because it was communistic; although I feel sure it had some Communists in it. I did not know that Browder was a member of the Council, and I had nothing to do with him in connection with the Prestes matter or any of the matters of the Council.

Seventeenth. Anti-American Spanish Aid Committee.

I do not recall having spoken before this organization December 3, 1940, or at any other time. However, I may have done so. If I did, it was simply because I had visited Spain, was interested in the Loyalist cause and could give some factual account of my trip. I did not know Fred Riedenkapp.

Eighteenth. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

I do not know Sam Darcy and do not recall having joined in an appeal in his behalf, but I may have done so. It would be a most natural thing for me to join in such an appeal if it had been represented to me that Darcy was most likely to get a "raw deal". In such a case, I would have joined in an appeal regardless of the political convictions of the person concerned.

Nineteenth. American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born.

My connection with this organization, which was not Communist to my knowledge, was more or less casual. As the name of the organization implies, it was represented to me as a very worthy matter. We were interested in the protection of colored persons, and had a natural sympathy for any other minority which needed protection, and we were often appealing to the foreign-born and other groups which might find themselves in the same position as we were, for assistance.

Twentieth. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

I do not know of any connection between this conference and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Furthermore, I do not recall having been a sponsor for the conference, or ever having attended one of its meetings, but can say that I may have, that I would be thoroughly sympathetic with the idea conveyed by the name of the conference - "inalienable rights".

Twenty-First. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

I do not recall this organization at this time. If it were presented to me with the name of the person who spoke to me, I might do so. I have no recollection of ever having acted on such a committee.

I have never had any connection with James Ford, a candidate on the Communist ticket for Vice President. I never supported him or made any efforts in his behalf; on the contrary, my efforts would be against him.

Congressman Dies' statement in the Congressional Record, regarding my contacts or associations, represents only the slightest fraction of my interests and activities during the period covered by his review. In line with my duties as Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I carried on a large volume of correspondence; held from 200 to 300 meetings a year; and visited as many as 100 field branches of the Association yearly. My principal interest was to convey the program of the Association to whoever would receive it without any consideration for politics. I have been a contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press since its inception in 1918, and almost every week scores of negro papers contain material from my pen. I submit that any examination of this material will fail to disclose any advocacy of Communism. If I were a Communist or a fellow traveler of Communism, it seems to me it would have been inevitable that I would have used the outlet available to me to pass on an advocacy of Communism.

Railroad authorities tell me that it is just 1,031 miles from New York City to Birmingham, Alabama. Therefore the officers of the I.L.D., communist organization, have sent out a two thousand sixty-two-mile lie when they published that I had been in Birmingham in March trying to persuade the Scottsboro boys to leave the Communists and accept a lawyer from the N.A.A.O.P. This lie was published in their release of April 14, 1934, and in their "Daily Worker" of the same date:

same date:
"William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., visited the Scottsboro boys in the jail, to try to persuade them to renounce the I.L.D. and accept a lynch lawyer of the Association, four weeks ago, it was revealed.

Failing in this effort, Pickens, who was accompanied by three white Birmingham 'liberals', had a conference with prison authorities.

"Almost immediately the present reign of terror against the boys intensified, and they were thrown into solitary confinement".

Of course, the editors of the communist "Daily Worker", being somewhat bigger liars than the I.L.D. crowd, substituted the words "was begun" for the word "intensified".

We know that only morons, in or out of the Communist Party, could ever be expected to swallow this lie whole, but there may be a few sane and honest people who, in the absence of any contradiction, might think that perhaps there was a modicum of truth in some part of the assertions,— that "maybe Pickens at least went to the jail to see the boys in March."

Such people will be surprised to learn that this is one Communist lie which is complete, one hundred percent a lie. Just "four weeks" before April 14 (March 17th) I was in New York City. "But", some one might think, "maybe the Communists missed it by a week or two, maybe it was six weeks or five weeks." Well, five weeks before that date I was in New York City, and six, seven, eight and nine weeks before that I was in Chicago, Madison, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc.

well," and might think "surely the L.B.U. and their editors
 would not wish such an artless lie as that; they would at least wait
 for some 100 witnesses, and then lie about what you DID there, but
 not what you did not do there and back. Maybe they stretched
 the truth a little, but were not in a position in any manner in 1934,
 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599,

2 Akron Parleys Flay Cop Terror Toward Negroes

NAACP and Youth Conference Attack Brutal Arrest of Innocent Man; Youth Group Urges Positive Peace Policy

(Special to the Daily Worker)

AKRON, O., Dec. 18.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the Akron Youth Congress, in separate conferences this week, leveled an energetic campaign for the rights of Negro people and against police brutality against the Negro population of this city.

Quash Iowa Conviction of CIO Organizer

High Court Holds Jury Was Swayed by Improper Evidence

(By Associated Press)

SIoux CITY, Dec. 18.—The Iowa Supreme court has reversed the jury verdict under which James Porter, former organizer for the Packinathouse Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), was sentenced to serve five years in the state reformatory.

Porter was found guilty in district court here about a year ago of an indictment which charged him with "malicious mischief" in connection with an alleged stoning of a house during the four-month strike at Swift & Co. in 1938.

The supreme court, all of whose members are Republicans, reversed the verdict on the ground that ex-Attorney General Miller W. Nichols permitted the state to introduce evidence in its case of alleged violence during the strike. And the supreme court decided that this must have prejudiced the jury against Porter. County Atty. General F. Hawkins said he would appeal the reversal.

The other 11 men are named in the same indictment as Porter. They were accused of "stoning" the home of a white man during the strike. Porter is one of the 11 men who were arrested in the strike and are now in the state reformatory.

Army Is Training

The Youth Council at its Christmas Youth Peace Conference at the Y. W. C. A. united its demands for the rights of Negro people with its demands for a positive peace policy for the country.

The N. A. A. C. P., which drew 250 people to a mass meeting at the Second Baptist Church here Sunday night, urged a united campaign of white and Negro people of Akron to defeat the terror against the Negro population.

The meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. projected the case of young Benjamin Finney, framed on four charges of robbery, as a specific example of the current terror. Young Finney, accused of the four robberies, said to have occurred at a time when he is known to be working, was "recognized by his voice" as a purse-snatcher by one white woman who "identified" him before hearing him speak.

YOUTH FOR PEACE

The Akron Youth Council, at its Christmas Youth Peace Conference at the YWCA, united its demands for a positive peace policy with a call for a campaign for the protection of the rights of the Negro people against the local drive of police brutality which started here two weeks ago.

Five Herbert secretary of the AYPC opened the conference with the statement: "There is no winning side in the present war because it is the people who bear the burden on both sides."

Joseph Hachler of the Rainbow CIO council presented labor's viewpoint, emphasizing the warning of the recent CIO convention that "external vigilance is the price of peace" and that labor must be on its toes on all questions.

The conference gave full support to a report on civil liberties which stated: "There is no half-way mark in civil liberties. If you are civil liberties structure, you take what you can from the state and the federal government."



Guarding U.A.W.'s Health: Dr. Morris Baubin, a medical consultant for the United Automobile Workers, is shown here examining a Ford worker as part of the union's constant check on the health of men in the industry. State officials have admitted that the "defense" speedup is causing a sharp increase in industrial disease and accidents.

'Defense' Speedup Brings More Industrial Disease

Michigan Board of Health Finds Its Staff Taxed to Combat Increasing Illness in Factories; Accidents Also Grow

DETROIT, Dec. 18 (AP).—A rising tide of industrial disease and accidents is beating against the health of Michigan's factory workers as one of the fruits of the accelerated defense program. Both public health officials and private consultants are dreading the outcome if nothing is done to stem the current.

The bureau of industrial hygiene of the Michigan state board of health finds that its small staff, inadequate even in normal times, is unable to cope with the situation. While no specific figures were given out, it is believed that the bureau has only five men for inspection in Detroit and only two men outside.

Factories are working three shifts a day, in many cases Saturdays and Sundays, at overtime rates. Idle plants are busy once more and old buildings are being converted to industrial use. Plants designed for a certain health level are being overtaxed.

ACCIDENTS INCREASING

The trend is a bumper crop of

a slowdown in ordinary alertness of the employees. Installation of more machines crowd the work space, narrow the aisles and increase the traffic of material and output.

METAL POISONING

Accidents are also multiplied by the absence of adequate ventilation and other equipment to remove fumes and dusts. This condition lowers the vitality of the workers and brings on more accidents. The hurry to get out orders introduces a further health hazard through the increased use of solder to cover defects. In normal times defective pieces would be scrapped. Today in some plants they are doctored with lead, which increases the poison content in the air.

Health and safety conditions

The Model

Chief of C-Don Co. of Protection of and His Po

1938 is the second of

"Mr. Hoover, bound for publicity by Senator George Norris on May 7 of 1938. Norris also called for a series of demonstrations today.

Telling of Hoover's visit to the organization, of the workers who turn out his the press agents who decide, Norris sounded the

"This is the second of the first of the series of demonstrations, of the workers who turn out his the press agents who decide, Norris sounded the

HIDES HIS FACE

Hoover's scurrying to Harry Bridges the W. O. U. leader, and his position to outlaw the C. P. Party, give point to the "greatest hunt" in the American coast, however, has come to his closet that he is "packed up and hidden" world.

The Chief of the C. P. not allow his press agent some dark chapter past.

The "Red Rats" of

The "Ohio Gang" in 1921-1924 form another All during the "Old Man" when Attorney Daugherty and Jess S. Williams J. Burns drove down the bootleggers peddlers and white slave country. J. Edgar Hoover's Daugherty's special, or Burns' right hand the FBI, or Acting D. the FBI himself.

PROTECTED DAUGHTER

Hoover, in fact, took part in trying to

The Nazi Gestapo Is Hoover's Model of Conduct for F.B.I.

Chief of G-Men Carefully Conceals His Past Record of Protection of the 'Ohio' Gang of Swindlers and His Part in the 1920 Red Raids

Wrote in the second of two articles on J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief
By Art Sheldie

"Mr. Hoover, the head of the FBI, is the greatest threat to the American continent today," said Senator George Norris of Nebraska in a speech in the Senate on May 7 of this year.

Norris also considers Hoover one of the most dangerous enemies of democracy in America today.

Fitting of Hoover's vast publicity organization, of the ghost writers who turn out his speeches, the press agents who hail his deeds, Norris sounded this warning:

"Unless we do something to stop this kind of adulation and praise as being confident, we shall have an organization—the organization of the FBI—which, instead of protecting the people from the evil acts of criminals, will itself in the end direct the government by tyrannical force, as the history of the world shows has been the case when secret police and secret detectives have been creeping around the homes of honest men."

HIDES HIS PAST

Hoover's curious attacks on Harry Bridges the West Coast CIO leader, and his present proposal to outlaw the Communist Party, give point to this warning. The "greatest threat to the American continent today," however, has some skeletons in his closet that he tries to keep tucked up and hidden from the world.

The Chief of the G-Men does not allow his press agents to discuss some dark chapters in his past.

The "Red Raids" of 1920 form one chapter.

The "Ohio Gang" scandals of 1921-1924 form another.

All during the "Ohio Gang" years when Attorney General Daugherty and Jess Smith and William J. Burns were shaking down the bootleggers and dope peddlers and white slavers of the country, J. Edgar Hoover was either Daugherty's special assistant or Burns' right hand man in the FBI, or Acting Director of the FBI himself.

PROTECTED DAUGHERTY

Hoover, in fact, took an active part in trying to protect Daugherty from the U. S. Senate Committee's investigation, which finally drove the Ohio leader out of public life.

as possible in her testimony. She admitted no more than the fact that she had to admit that Jess Smith gave orders to the whole department, though he had no official government post and that Jess Smith handled the whiskey permits and certificates.

That was enough for Hoover and Daugherty. They fired the senate's witness four days later.

Hoover's curt letter dismissing Mrs. Duckstein, dated May 28, 1924, was read into the senate committee record by Wheeler.

"Dear Madam," Hoover began. "At the request of the Attorney General I am hereby requesting your resignation as special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, to take effect at the expiration of such accrued leave of absence as you may be entitled to."

"Very truly yours,
J. E. HOOVER,
Acting Director."

The barest hint of "whiskey certificate" graft brought Hoover's name on the witness's head. Wheeler's comment was: "When they tell the truth, why they fired them."

Hoover managed to stay in when Daugherty was thrown out in 1924, but it must not be forgotten that the present FBI chief was a partner in Daugherty's administration of the Department of Justice during this period.

NATURALLY BRUTAL

Hoover cannot escape responsibility for the arrest of hundreds of AFL railroad shopmen during the great 1922 strike at the orders of his agents.

The FBI has expanded its activities vastly since then, having over 2050 persons on its payroll now, compared to less than 700 in the Daugherty days.

Naturally brutal, Hoover employs handcuffed prisoners and exhibiting them to the public. Both Current Judge and Senator Norris have mentioned the work of Hoover's



J. EDGAR HOOVER

ought to be treated in a civilized manner.

"Intimidation by third-degree methods is indefensible and is illegal under our system of jurisprudence. The officers of the law, such as agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ought to be the first to obey the law."

Scoring FBI brutality to the pro-Spanish prisoners, Norris told the Senate on May 7 that "I think such practices are deplorable; to my mind they are detestable."

John L. Lewis, CIO leader, went further in attacking the FBI and Hoover as an enemy of labor. In his presidential report to the Atlantic City convention last month:

"One of the most serious threats to civil liberties," said Lewis, "is represented by the actions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Testimony before Congressional committees and other public reports indicate that the FBI has gone beyond the limits contemplated by Congress or authorized by federal law, in its drive in whipping up war hysteria against 'subversive activities,' 'sabotage' and 'activities detrimental to the internal security of the United States.' These activities, by admission of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, include:

(1) Setting up a 'General Intelligence Division' in September, 1935, to probe not only espionage and violation of neutrality laws, but also anything which the FBI calls 'sabotage,' 'subversive activities,' and 'activities detrimental to the internal security of the United States' until the two are specifically made crimes by federal law, and then to

John L. Lewis Warned of Hoover's Usurpation of Power

war people, and plain citizens were hauled out of meetings and out of their homes, placed in jail, handcuffed, held incommunicado and generally harassed by agents of the Department of Justice." Lewis closed with a solemn warning that Hoover was preparing a "Gestapo."

"It is of the utmost importance," said Lewis, "that there not be permitted to be created in this nation an organization that will carry on in the manner of the Gestapo of Nazi Germany."

"Criticism of the illegal actions of the FBI is customarily condemned by Mr. Hoover, as the equivalent of unpatriotic activity. This is the first step of a person who cannot stand the light of free discussion and open criticism. All the people of this nation and the government itself, should be made to comply with the law of the land, including and particularly the FBI, its agents, and its head, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover."

Lewis' warning against Hoover's Gestapo should be posted up in every union hall in the United States.

Hoover's Gestapo is a deadly tool of the employers of America, who are trying to squash the trade union. His attempts to deport Harry Bridges to outlaw the workers' political organizations are timed with the drive of "Defense" and "Know-Nothing" to restore the slavery week and destroy the right to strike.

Every honest American will join with Senator Norris in calling Hoover's policies detestable.

Inspectors Probe Fatal Mine Blast

Seven Dead, Many Hurt In Gas Explosion in West Virginia

BECKLEY, W. Va., Dec. 12 (AP)—

Our judgment reckons that it is far better for us to fight than it is for us to run any serious risk of a triumph on this earth of Hitlerism and Mussolinism.

Army Is Training Parachute Corps Of Infantry

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 (AP).—The Army is training "air infantry" troops with a view to moving large numbers of men—possibly whole divisions—by air transports, it was learned today.

Training of air infantry is now concentrated at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, where troops of the second division have been practicing the important maneuvers of loading and unloading men and equipment into air transport planes.

CIO Construction Union Wins Pay Boost

LOCKPORT, N. Y., Dec. 18 (AP).—Hourly wage increases of from 4 to 7 cents are provided in an agreement between the United Construction Workers' Organizing Committee (CIO) and the Upson Co., mail-board manufacturer, ending a 3-day strike by 144 workers.

liberties structure, you take away one piece from any group, no matter how small, it will not be long before the whole structure falls upon the heads of the people.

Attorney Kelly of the NAACP, addressing the Youth Peace Conference, explained the struggle of his organizations for equal rights for Negro people and requested aid from the AVC and other organizations in this fight.

The AVC conference went on record to participate in the present campaign for the defense of Negro rights in Akron, against police brutality, intimidation, indiscriminate arrests and beatings of Negro youth.

The most recent case cited was that of Bernard Jones, Negro youth leader and chairman of the Akron Youth Council, who was brutally slugged by police a week ago for the "crime" of looking for an address in a white neighborhood at night.

The AVC conference closed with a panel meeting on jobs, education, civil liberties and peace. Plans were adopted to invite all Akron young people around a campaign for the American Youth Act and the defense of the rights of draftees.

ACCIDENTS INCREASING

The result is a bumper crop of disease and accident cases.

Ventilation and safety measures are none too good, even in normal times. But when additional machines are installed and more dust and fumes created, the existing blowers and exhausts and dust preventives no longer meet the demand. Men and women swallow fumes and dust. Poisons eat into the skin and lung tissues and affect the blood.

The accident rate is also rising sharply. Union officials are warning their members to insist on safety rules being enforced. Secretary George Borovich of UAW Local 410, for example, told the workers in Midland Steel that they were losing too many fingers and suffering too many cuts and bruises.

The rise in accidents is due to many causes. In many plants the seniority lists are exhausted and inexperienced men and women are taken on, almost automatically boosting the industrial injuries. The rush of orders is leading to a breakdown of normal safety measures. Overtime leads to fatigue and

son content in the air.

"Health and safety" conditions must be improved quickly," says Dr. Morris Hapkin, industrial disease consultant formerly on the staff of the UAW Medical Research Institute, "or else there will be an alarming increase in accidents and industrial diseases. My office is getting many more calls than in normal times. All health agencies should pool their resources to cope with this critical problem."

As unions negotiate new contracts greater insistence on adequate safety clauses is coming from the bargaining committees.

2 Trainmen Die In Utah Wreck

SALT LAKE CITY, Dec. 18 (UP).

—An eastbound Union Pacific passenger train crashed into the rear of a standing freight train today as it approached Union Station.

Two trainmen of the freight were killed. They were William Floyd McCumber, brakeman, and C. R. Williams, conductor.

George C. Rogers, also a trainman, was injured.

Free Sam Darcy, Educators and

(Special to the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—Immediate dismissal of charges against Sam Adams Darcy, Communist leader, was urged upon Governor Culbert Olson of California today by 165 nationally prominent representatives of every field of public life.

Darcy was recently extradited by California authorities from Pennsylvania, where he was state chairman of the Communist Party. He faces a up to fourteen years imprisonment for a minor inaccuracy in his registration as a voter in California in 1934.

Charging that Darcy is being persecuted because he represents a minority party, signers of the appeal declare this constitutes a violation of the principle of equality before the law.

"We believe that the State of California," they wrote, "is unwilling to make such discriminatory application of the law, places its own rights in jeopardy and undermines the Constitution of the United States, which its officials have sworn to uphold."

"We urge you to dismiss the charges against Mr. Sam Adams Darcy."

THE SIGNERS

A copy of the appeal, which is sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, was forwarded to District Attorney Matthew Brady of San Francisco.

Signers include Oswald Garrison Villard; Bishop William F. Remingham, Portland, Ore.; Clifford T. May, Deputy Commissioner, New

York City Department of Welfare; Olin Downes, music critic, New York Times; Dr. Harry F. Ward; Rockwell Kent, artist; Theodore Tilton, Aaron Copland, composer; Congressman Vito Marcantonio; Herman Shumlin, theatrical producer; Donald Ogden Stewart, president, League of American Writers; and Hays Cline Storm, author.

In their letter, the signers point out that the "crime" charged against Darcy in no way affected his eligibility as a voter.

In proof of their assertion that Darcy is the victim of discrimination, they cite the statement of U. S. Webb, attorney-general of California in 1934, that 250,000 false voter's registrations were made in that year, yet no prosecutions were ordered.

"Mrs. Charles G. Johnson, state University of California," the letter says, "placed on his registration certificate for the year 1933 precisely the same inaccuracy charged against Mr. Darcy. Quite properly, in our opinion, Mr. Johnson was not prosecuted."

The full list of signers follows:

Dr. Thomas A. A. Stanford University, Civil Rights Council of Northern California, San Francisco, California; Edward G. Allen, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Paul J. Albert, Elmer, Michigan; Miss Rebecca Anthony, Springfield, Mass.; Fred George T. Austin, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; Lee H. Ball, Methodist Church, Los Angeles, New York; Frank G. Barrett, Managing Editor, Social Voice Today, New York City; Dr. Archie D. Bell, Missouri, Harrison, New Jersey; Dr. William E. Bell, Chicago, Ill.; Ernestine Bell, President, N. Y. A. A. A.; Mrs. John T. Bernard, Brown, Mass.

Dr. Henry Lambert Bixby, Kingston, New York; Mr. Louis F. Berk, Modern Age Book, Inc., New York City;

Alma Bessie Mackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Marie Bonaparte, Chapman, New York City;

Joseph E. Brown, Oak Park, Illinois; Prof. Charles E. Brown, New York City; Prof. Edward E. Brown, William University, Decatur, Illinois;

George L. Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.; David Chapman Sweet, Prof. of Philosophy, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California;

Isabelle Brown, Upper Merion, New Jersey; Robert Henry Brown, New York City;

Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Chubb, Cherry Hill, New Jersey;

Abraham J. Collins, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois;

Frank E. Coyle, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Robert E. Coyle, Cleveland, Ohio;

Sarah Chubb, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Mrs. John Coyle, Milwaukee, Wis.;

Henry E. Coyle, Jr., Department of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C.;

Dr. Thomas E. Coyle, Director, Chicago Hospital, Chicago, Illinois;

Mr. Philip M. Connolly, Los Angeles, California; Helen Connolly, Los Angeles, California;

Mrs. Walter Conn, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;

Anna Conn, Chicago, New York City;

Prof. Richard T. Coon, New York City; Prof. C. M. Coon, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington;

Prof. William Coon, City College, New York City;

Prof. William Coon, Negro Post, New York City;

Prof. Edward E. Coyle, Williams, Massachusetts;

Mr. E. E. Coyle, Milwaukee, Wisconsin;

Mr. David Coyle, Business Agent, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;

Rev. E. A. Coyle, St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, Virginia;

Rev. E. A. Coyle, Washington, D. C.; Rev. E. A. Coyle, Washington, D. C.; Rev. E. A. Coyle, Washington, D. C.;

William Coyle, Council of United Brotherhoods, Birmingham, Alabama;

Chas. Coyle, Union Civic, New York Times, New York City;

Thomas Coyle, Hollywood, California; Dr. David Coyle, Service to International Education, New York City;

James R. Coyle, New York City; Mr. Robert W. Dunn, Labor Research Association, New York City;

Prof. Robert A. Dunn, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York;

Robert Dunn, New York City; Prof. Charles E. Dunn, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina;

Prof. Robert Dunn, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina;

Sara Dunn, Los Angeles, California; John L. Dunn, Los Angeles, California;

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John L. Dunn, Los Angeles, California; John L. Dunn, Los Angeles, California;

PLEASE DANGER

However, in fact, took an active part in trying to protect Daugherty from the U. S. Senate Committee investigation, which, finally, drove the Ohio hoodler out of public life.

The Senate investigation followed the Teapot Dome expose of the Harding scandal, in which Daugherty was deeply involved. The probe was conducted by a "Select Committee" of the Senate, headed by Senator Smith W. Brookhart of Ind.

Most active of the senators in opening Department of Justice post was Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, who was later himself tangled in a FBI frame-up.

SMITH GAVE THE ORDERS

Wheeler was much interested in tracing the connections of Jess Smith, Daugherty's graft broker, who was mysteriously killed by a revolver shot while visiting the home of the attorney-general.

In the course of the probe the
subpoenaed Smith's
sister, a woman FBI agent
Mrs. Jane V. Duckstein.
Mrs. Duckstein was as guarded

Naturally brutal, Hoover enjoys handcuffing prisoners and exhibiting them to the public. Both Circuit Judge Anderson and Senator Norris have commented on such treatment of FBI prisoners.

Morris called attention last spring to FBI brutality to African-Americans in Detroit and Milwaukee. Prisoners accused of assisting volunteers to go to Spain to fight against fascism. In a letter of protest to Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson on March 10, Morris described early-morning raids on the prisoners' homes. He told of the handcuffing of the prisoners, their march through the streets in this manacled state and the FBI's refusal to allow them to talk to attorneys.

ILLEGAL INTIMIDATION

"It is my understanding," said Morris, "that two, possibly three of these people were Communists. However, that is no defense of the action of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Even a Communist, under our Constitution, if charged with a crime,

...and 'activities detrimental to the internal security of the United States'. Only the first two are specifically made criminal by federal law, and there is no authority under law for the FBI to investigate matters which do not constitute federal crimes.

“(2) Fingerprinting, industrial workers and supplying reports on them to their employers, without the knowledge of the workers.

(2) Making a general index of supposedly subversive individuals arranged alphabetically and geographically. The test of subversion is, of course, in the absence of any statutory definition, determined by Mr. Hoover's personal prejudice.

"(4) Preparing secret detention cells in the FBI offices for suspects.

"(3) Inviting reports from vendors, bankers, patriotic societies and private citizens on activities and opinions of their employers and neighbors."

Reviewing past Hoover's brutality during the raids of the 1920s, "when thousands of innocent aliens, labor leaders, anti-

BECKLEY W. A. DE 10/17/75
-Inspector received call from
mask, entered by No. 10000000
Apple of the Beach Co. and Co.
Corporation, 10000000, 10000000
and rest in ventilation preparation
in an effort to investigate into the
explosion which took place here
yesterday.

N. I. Blinnhart, State Mines Department, said he would be making a field inquiry after the mine is cleared of fumes. The investigation is in being continued.

Inspection stems from the U. S. Bureau of Mines at Pittsburgh and the State Department are impanelled safety crews of the company into the tunnel to inspect and repair damage.

Within five hours of the blast, rescue workers recovered the seven bodies and rescued 66 men, several of whom were injured.

nd Writers Urge Olson

[illegible]

The Rev. Dr. J. Pigne Hewitt, Bishop,
 100 Westchester,
 Mayfield, Niam, Harvard University,
 Cambridge, Mass.
 Volume H. N.Y. McJannet University,
 Santa Barbara,
 James Patrick H. O'Brien, Deputy, Minn.
 Harry O'Donnell, Writer, Chicago, Ill.
 W. A. O'Grady, University of Illinois,
 Peoria, Illinois.
 Prof. Howard B. O'Connor, Presby-
 terian, Providence, R.I.
 The Rev. George L. Paine, Secord,
 Longmeadow, Mass.
 Mrs. Marie Paine, Los Angeles, Cal.
 C. P. Parnes, New York City.
 John W. Paine, New Haven, Conn.
 The American National Association
 for the Advancement of Colored People,
 New York City.
 Prof. Dr. Edwin Marshall Pomeroy,
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 Prof. William Remington, Penn-
 sylvania, Greengarden.
 Prof. George S. Smith, Wesley College,
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 tional for Teachers, New York City.
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Sons, Druggists, Palo Alto, California.
Edmund C. Telf, New York City.
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stitute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
Boston.
Katherine Tread, School for Social
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Prof. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern
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Mrs. Albert B. Tucker, Philadelphia.
Prof. David L. Tullis, Rapid City,
South Dakota.
Prof. William A. Trow, First Congrega-
tional Church, Oyster Bay.
Samuel Garrison Village, New York
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inary, New York City.
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Michigan. Also Albert Math.
Wicks, Oyster Bay, New York.
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versity, Washington, D. C.
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Page 2

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 11, 1938

Central Spain Has Power to Continue

Pravda Places Blame for Tragedy of Catalonia Directly Upon Treachery of British and French Governments

(Written for the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Feb. 7. — The Communist Party central organ Pravda today declares that Republican Spain has sufficient strength at its command to continue the battle against the fascist invaders.

An article in Pravda places the blame for the "tragedy of Catalonia" directly upon the shoulders of the French and British governments, which permitted fascist Italy and Nazi Germany to intervene actively against the Loyalists but barred arms for the defenders of Spain.

"The tragedy which has taken place on the battlefields of Catalonia is the direct outcome of the criminal policy of 'non-intervention' pursued by the governments of the bourgeois-democratic states, France and Britain," Pravda says.

FARCE CLOAKS TREACHERY

"Under the screen of 'non-intervention,' the ports of Cadiz and Bilbao during recent weeks have worked double-shift unloading military equipment for Franco from vessels which arrived under convoy of German and Italian warships.

"At the same time, under the same screen of 'non-intervention,' the government of Republican Spain was deprived of its legitimate right to buy arms abroad for the defense of its country.

"The heroism and self-sacrifice of the Republican



JUAN NEGRIN
Prime Minister of Spain



ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
Foreign Minister of Spain

fighters and their glorious commanders and political commissars have been recognized even by correspondents of bourgeois papers openly sympathizing with Franco.

STALIN'S WARNING

"By defending their independence and freedom from the brutal attacks of the fascist invaders, the Spanish Republics are fulfilling the historic mission of the van-

guard fighters of all progressive

"The workers never before the liberation of Spain for a common cause of all

"The Republic but the determination of the struggle against

"This is clear: refugees who fled from the hated invaders of Barcelona, the heroic country of barbarians.

"The terrible decapitated about the republican Spain, France and British republican Spain for carrying on

"Hundreds and tested in the great battle with the invaders of the struck strong co

"The popular

US Negro Leaders Launch Largest Drive for Spain Aid Tomorrow

Truth About Spain Smashes Through Lies in Tory Press

Almost 100 Endorse Campaign of Negro Committee to Aid Spain; Issue Warning of Fascist Peril to Minorities; Spain Aid Rallies Mount

Nearly one hundred of the most prominent Negro leaders throughout the nation have endorsed the campaign to lift the embargo against Spain, the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy announced yesterday.

The endorsement came in response to a letter circulated by the committee last week.

The endorsement was signed by: W. E. B. DuBois, president of the NAACP; Walter White, executive director; and many others. The endorsement was also signed by: C. L. R. James, editor of the Daily Worker; and many others. The endorsement was also signed by: C. L. R. James, editor of the Daily Worker; and many others.

We Negroes, the letter further stated, are alarmed at the results of infiltration methods at

Medical Bureau, Friends Sponsor Feb. 9-14 City Tag Days

The "Largest Tag Day in the history of New York City" will open tomorrow when 1,000 volunteer taggers start an appeal on behalf of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 125 West 43rd St., who are conducting a "Solid Tag Day" on Feb. 9, 10, 11, and 14.

Mass. Daily Worker

(Continued from Page 1)

government has taken all necessary measures for continuation of the resistance to the fascist invasion. Both in a political and military way the Spanish people are striving for a harder struggle.

It is true that at every rapid and critical hour in the great battle for freedom, there are some who jump off or who are thrown off the band of leadership.

Should President Manuel Azana who is tolerating continue to carry on his capricious negotiations against the will of the Spanish people and its lawful government, and the Spanish Cortes parliament, he will be replaced by a temporary government, Vice-President Martinez Barrio.

There remains the firm government leadership which has been in the hands of Spanish democracy since the Trotskyite Fifth Column attempted to pave the way for Franco's entry by an armed coup.



WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1939

Continue Fight, Says USSR Press

guard fighters against fascist barbarism for the cause of
all progressive mankind.

The working people throughout the world realize as never before the truth of Stalin's words that 'the liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of the Spaniards, but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind'.

"The Republican troops have retreated from Catalonia, but the determination of the Spanish people to continue the struggle against the foreign barbarians has not been broken."

"This is clearly shown in the great wave of Spanish refugees who fled Catalonia in order to escape the rule of the hated invaders.

"Barcelona fell. Gerona was surrendered. But the heroic country continues to hit back against the fascist barbarians.

The territory of Republican Spain is still large. It occupies about 50,000 square miles. The coastline of Republican Spain is about 500 miles long, which means that France and Britain have ample opportunity to supply Republican Spain with arms, food and everything necessary for carrying on the war until victory.

SPIRIT UNBROKEN

Hundreds of thousands of Spanish fighters, steeled and tested in the long hard war against the fascists, imbued with hatred for the enemy, continue to hold the invaders of the Madrid and Estremadura fronts and have struck strong counter-blows against the fascists.

¹The population of Madrid and other cities and villages

of the central zone of Republican Spain are imbued with patriotic enthusiasm.

"The events in Catalonia have been watched in the central zone without confusion. The morale of the population is very high. The masses of the people have rallied around their government.

"Examples of self-sacrifice and heroism are being set by the glorious Communist Party of Spain, which everywhere, in the rear and at the front, is inspiring the people to the sacred struggle against fascism."

"The Spanish people have raised numerous highly talented and brave commanders and political commissars from their ranks. The names of Modesto, Lister, Taguena, Fusimana, Alvarez and others, will go down in the history of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people.

"At present, when fascist Italy already is openly placing its aggressive claims to France, when the French government continues to pursue its policy of capitulation to the aggressor, the Spanish problem acquires an especially great significance. ↑

The future fate of France is being decided on the battlefields of Spain. It is not only a question of the defense of Spain now. The national security of France, which is facing a threat on a third front in the Pyrenees, is under direct threat.

"This is being more clearly understood by wide circles of the French public. The demand of millions of working people that arms and food be given to the Spanish people at once can be heard more loudly than ever throughout the world."

**out. Spain
Through
Tory Press**



Vets Call Daily Picket Line at Italian Consul

Protest Fascist Invasion of Spain: Spur Fight to Lift Embargo

The veterans of the International Brigade, both military and medical, let Mussolini know yesterday that they are still continuing the fight for Spanish democracy even though an ocean now separates them from the scenes of conflict.

Organized by a joint committee from the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, a permanent picket line has been established before the Italian consulate, Fifth Ave. and W 50th St., to demonstrate daily as long as Mussolini's fascist troops remain in Spain.

With the permission of the Police Department, the pickets, who include both veterans' nurses, doctors and dentists who served abroad, will be allowed to march in groups of six from noon to six o'clock. The first picket line began yesterday afternoon.

Negrin Rejects Parley Offer

**Loyalist Premier Flying to Valencia; President
Azama's Policy of Surrender Repudiated
by the Government**

Continued from Page 14

and German fever and foreign influence.

Further, he believes that the situation in Central Spain is still not balanced in the army, an expenditure of 10,000-15,000 pesetas per day, which can mean another 100,000 heavy and light arms, and a whole system of food, clothing, and shelter. He hopes to further to spend for many months.

But the Nation is concerned that the economy between the two nations and the present state will rapidly reach a point at which cooperation by the states is a necessity, as it will be impossible

Measurable the treatment of infirmity is to be the first and most important. The use of scientific knowledge is to be a first condition since it is the scientific, they are most

in Lugo. Pablo de Aznarte is sure that the Local Government would settle the problem created by the Catalanian Defeat and the exodus of tens of thousands of soldiers from the region of France before flying to Valencia to carry on the war.

STANDARD STOCK NO. 3000.10

Section II was said intended to deal with the two main sides of the French side of the question to deal with the influence of the

The embassy said it had reports from Valencia indicating that the Spanish and British troops had gathered in the central zone tonight.

Mrs. A. K. K. is the owner of
Maiden Lane, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105,
106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914

Mini-Call

Republican Spain, fighting against tremendous odds, in support of these principles and ideals upon which America was founded and whose ultimate realization our people hold dear.

"We Negroes," the letter further stated, "alarmed at the growth of totalitarian methods of warfare, first practiced against the people of Ethiopia, we in Spain today a battleground where the issue between darkness and enlightenment is being decided. In addition, to the open brutal warfare of armaments, we find equally alarming the other phase of that warfare which is using every means, ideological, economic, social, to destroy minorities, of whom we are one.

MUST FIGHT BARBARISM

"The most obnoxious of these means is the propagation of unscientific, barbaric race theories, theories which are incorporated in the organic body of fascist law and circulated through their official educational curricula.

"With this evidence before us, we representatives of a minority race recognize that our hope of freedom and equality is in combating such theories and in achieving their liquidation both within and without our country. We are therefore impelled by logic and sentiment to support democracy throughout the world."

Signatories to the letter included: R. B. Atwood, President Kentucky State College; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune; Rev. Shelton Hale, Bishop of New York; Dr. M. O. Rousfield, of the Julius Rosenberg Fund; Margaret Davis Bowen, Supreme Executive of Alpha Kappa Alpha; Council Cullen; C. L. Delmont, fourth International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago attorney; Floyd A. Douglas, President of the South-west Section Postal Alliance; Rev. W. J. Faulkner, Dean of Men at Fick University; Arthur Huff Fauset, one of the national Vice-Presidents of the National Negro Congress; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Professor at Howard University.

Also: Ishmael P. Flory, Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Council of the Dining Car Employees, A. F. of L.; John M. Gandy, President of Virginia State College for Negroes; Dr. Joseph Gomez, pastor of St. James A. M. E. Church of Cleveland; Mrs. Irma N. Henry, Consultant W. P. A.; Administration of North Carolina; Angela Herndon; T. Arnold Hill; Isabel C. Lawson of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.; Kate Moton; Dr. Gooden; Nurse, New York physician; William Pickens of the N. A. A. C. P.; and E. Shepard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes.

Also: Ferdinand Smith, Vice-President of the National Maritime Union; M. Smith, Director of Chicago Baptist Institute; Lillian

Housing Administrator of the Department of the Interior; Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Dean of Graduate School of Howard University; Clarence Cameron White, violinist and composer; Mrs. Susan W. Yergan of Shaw University, and others.

MASS RALLY SUNDAY

Meanwhile a capacity attendance was expected at the mass meeting and rally which the committee is sponsoring Sunday afternoon, Feb. 10th, in the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, Seventh Ave. and W. 129th St.

Speakers will be Dr. Arnold Donawa, Negro surgeon who recently returned from Spain; Council Gibson-Carter, Negro ambulance driver just returned from Spain; Dr. Irving Busch, former director of the International Hospital Corps in Spain; Assemblyman Oscar Garcia-Rivera; Dr. David Efron, executive secretary, Pan American Conference; Ashley Totten, International Secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Miss Louise Thompson, International Workers Order; Dr. Malaku Bayen, chairman, Ethiopian World Federation; and Senor Antonio de la Cruz Marin, Spanish Consul General.

In other sections of New York numerous other meetings are being called to rally the fight for the Spanish embargo lifting. Tonight meetings are being held in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

BRONX MEETING

Major Allen Johnson, Spain veteran, heads the list of speakers at the Bronx meeting being held at the Concourse Plaza, 161st St. and Grand Concourse. Other speakers include John J. Donohue, principal of Public School 16; Rev. H. Norman Selby of University Heights Presbyterian Church; Rabbi Jacob Grossman of Temple Beth El; Rev. George Taylor, president, Epworth League; and Charles Rubenstein, president, United Bronx Civic Association.

Called by the Williamsburg Committee to Lift the Embargo on Spain, the Brooklyn meeting is being held at the Grand Paradise Ballroom, Grand and Havemeyer Streets. Speakers include Louis M. Notkin, chairman, American Jewish Congress of Williamsburg; Gino Bard, editor, "Il Popolo," Italian newspaper; Morris Lasky, chairman, Williamsburg Federation of Social Clubs; and Hyman Rodas, secretary of the committee.

James M. O'Leary, executive secretary, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Bishop Ashton Haldon, and Joseph Rhane will speak Monday evening, Feb. 12th, at a meeting arranged by the Coordinated Peace Efforts Group at Carnegie Hall. Revision of the Neutrality Act will be the theme of the rally.

Take the new Sunday Worker out to your neighborhood! Watch how easy it makes the sale of Daily Worker Coupon Books!

will be worth, at a minimum, \$10,000 and with 15,000 cans out, all friends of Spain can understand how important this tag day can be.

Urging every volunteer to bring in a full collection can, Holt continued, "Funds from this joint tag day will be divided between the two committees, half going for rehabilitation of American volunteers from Spain, and the other half to be cabled immediately to the International Coordinating Committee for Aid to Spain in Paris where food will be purchased immediately and within five days will reach the refugees in Spain."

The first prize is a bronze cast of J. Davidson's bust of La Pasionaria, which recently was highly praised by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the second prize will be a portfolio of twelve original prints and drawings, some in black and white, some in color, done by outstanding Spanish artists of scenes of refugees, soldiers, and life in Spain around Madrid. The portfolio was sent by the Spanish Government to the Medical Bureau and North American Committee and is a collector's item of a rapidly growing value.

Mr. Holt asked all volunteers to put their names and addresses on the collection card when they return them to the Bureau offices, at 351 Fourth Ave.

Visit of Nazi Sports Head to England Opposed

LONDON, Feb. 7 (UP).—Herbert H. Evin, chairman of the British Workers Sports Association, protested to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain today the forthcoming visit to England of Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Nazi "Labor Front," and his scheduled reception by the King and Prime Minister.

Evin said that to receive him would be an "insult" to every British trade unionist.

"I do hope you will be able to see your way to let Ley know that his presence in this country will not be acceptable and that you yourself will refuse to meet him and will pass on to His Majesty the view that I have expressed," Evin wrote Chamberlain.

Silver Purchase Aided Neighbors Senate Hears

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (UP).—Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., told a special Senate Silver Committee today that the Treasury's purchases of silver have benefited China, Mexico, Canada, Peru, Chile, the Philippines, and "a number of other countries."

Morgenthau answered a series of questions drawn by Sen. John G. Townsend, Jr., R., Del., sponsor of a bill to stop the government's silver purchase program.

clusive, Vice-President Martin Harrin.

There remains the firm government leadership which has been at the helm of Spanish democracy since the Trotskyite Fifth Column conspired to pave the way for Franco's entry by an armed uprising.

Premier Negrin and Foreign Minister del Vayo will lead the reorganization of the government in its new Central Front stronghold.

THE LONG PRESS PROPAGANDA

Strange and revealing, indeed, are the present antics of the Tory press in the United States. For days on end it has been publishing largely British and French foreign office propaganda, fed through the Associated Press and in some measure also by the United Press, via the British news agency Reuters. It laid the end of Loyalist Spain is "a matter of days—even hours."

Now they are forced to print different stories.

Even when they quote Franco again transmitting his wildest boast, they say the fascist state it will require at least two months (with new Italian reinforcements, of course) to storm Madrid and Valencia.

But Franco's exaggerated claims to "final" conquest of Loyalist Spain have been exposed on numerous occasions. Many, many more months will be required, at worst, for the combined fascist forces to expect the Central Front's defeat.

But far more decisive is the growing intense international situation with favorable factors growing for longer Loyalist resistance and for that assistance which can turn the tide for Spain and the world democracies.

KEY TO SPANISH SECURITY

Loyalist Spain, for instance, holds one of the powerful fortresses for French national safety—namely, the Mahon naval base on the Island of Minorca.

For two and a half years, 50,000 Loyalists there with the most intricate and formidable defenses have beaten back prodigious efforts of the fascists to take this key position for French and Spanish democracy.

As a pre-condition for capitulation, Chamberlain and Bonnet want Loyalist Spain to give up this position.

But the Spanish people will not submit. They know the longer they hold out the more certain it will be that despite the Dalaiers and Bonnet the French people in time will realize that their fate, their peace and democracy, are inseparably bound up with Loyalist Spain's continuing defense.

Then, too, fascism does not have inexhaustible resources. German and Italian fascism are in crisis. The Spanish fascists are bickering over the present spoils and positions.

COUNT ON EMBARGO DRIVE

With her 500-mile coast, Loyalist Spain with the help of the democracies can keep up indefinitely. And the democratic government

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Only Edward G. Robinson
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ring, is a technical director.

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eligible for one of the prizes in
the "Amter Vets" Party Free
contest!

It was announced that Del Vero
telephoned to his ambassador

the Loyalist and fascist armies along the southern front, holding fastwise to the east and from the pivot of Madrid, are even in manpower, with the best forces around Madrid and Galicia. Some of the outlying lines held only by disconnected outposts or thin lines of infantry.

impressed her most, emphasized, was not the name of her daily newspaper but the fact the Nazis design to take cognizance of her words. She fre- quently discussed international affairs in her column.

The picture is based upon the recent New York spy trials. Leon G. Turrou, former G-Man who exposed the spy ring, is a technical director.

PARIS, Feb. 7 (UP)—The Chamber of Deputies today voted 254 to 260, a Communist-Socialist proposal to grant a blanket amnesty to strikers penalized by loss of their jobs for the general strike last November, 30 against Premier Edouard Daladier's decree-laws.

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Haitian Writer Blasts War, Oppression of Colonials



JACQUES ROUMAÏN

Jacques Roumain, Famed Negro Poet, Says Writer's Job Today Is to Fight Against Imperialists; Speaks at Reception Here

Jacques Roumain, noted Haitian poet and writer, speaking at the banquet-reception held in his honor Wednesday night at the 187th St. YWCA, denounced the imperialist war in Europe as another attempt of Nazi, British and French imperialism to re-divide the world at the expense of millions of exploited colonials. The event was under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League of American Writers.

Roumain called upon all writers to enlist themselves in the cause of the persecuted Jews, Negroes and all people who are ground down under the heel of imperialism.

In paying tribute to the writer, who is now exiled from his native land after being sentenced to three years in prison for his struggles against imperialist exploitation, Max Yergan, head of the Committee on African Affairs and vice-president of the National Negro Congress, said:

"Mr. Roumain is the symbol of the fight against imperialism, and Haiti, his country, represents the un-ending battle against imperialist oppression of millions of people."

Speaking for the council for Pan-American Democracy, Dr. David Elron, warned that America's good neighbor policy was disappearing in the relations between America and the Caribbean region. He denounced proposed bills before Congress and the newspaper campaign calling for the seizure or purchase by the United States of the European possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

CONDEMNS LINDBERGH'S SPEECH

After exposing the slanderous speech of Charles E. Lindbergh, mouthpiece of Wall Street, who described the Western Hemisphere as the natural domain of the United States, Dr. Elron declared: "It is unnecessary to point out the threatening implications of these developments. The suggested seizure or purchase of the European possessions is typical of the traditional imperialistic policy of dealing with people as if they were cattle or merchandise. Furthermore, these same proposals, as well as Lindbergh's scurrilous remarks constitute an unspeakable affront to the Negro and Indian peoples of the Americas, who comprise a great portion of the population of the Western Hemisphere."

"The ominous trend just mentioned," he continued, "in connection with the European possessions is, unfortunately, only one of several recent developments that make one wonder whether the Good Neighbor Policy is still in practice. I need not call your attention to the attempted seizure of America's

Imperialist War Brings Mental Crackup, Says Noted Spain Psychiatrist

Contrasts Will to Fight and Cultural Impetus of Spanish Republican Masses; People Will Struggle When They Have a Goal

By Louise Mitchell

When a people are engaged in war and know that it will bring them real freedom and independence, their fighting courage and spirit is unsurmountable and the incidence of war neurosis is almost nil, Dr. Emilio Mira, former chief of the psychiatric forces of the Spanish Republican

Army told a distinguished audience at a dinner-forum held in his honor at the Hotel Commodore, Wednesday night.

On the other hand, the doctor noted an increased number of mental cases now occurring in England because the people are worried, bitter and frightened, engaged in an imperialist war without real motivation. Whereas the Spanish people were excited, activated and full of hope, the peoples in the belligerent countries today are unhappy and potential victims of war neurosis. This difference in mental attitude is the difference between hope and defeat, he explained in his talk on "The Mental Effects of War and Propaganda on Civilian and Military Populations."

Netherlands Adopt Defense Measures

Lowlands to Be Flooded in Event of Invasion Minister Declares

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, Nov. 16 (UP).—The government announced today, following collapse of the Dutch-Belgian peace appeal, completion of plans for evacuation

Tokio in Money Snarl in China Invasion

Chinese Gov't Moves to Widen Democracy in Nation

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

SHANGHAI, Nov. 16.—The Chinese Army is experiencing great financial difficulties in China. Puppet government troops received only 60 per cent of their October wages, causing great discontent among them.

A group of puppet government soldiers in the Pootung district of Shanghai which had not been paid for five months recently deserted and joined the Chinese patriots.

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

CHUNGKING, China, Nov. 16.—Important steps toward increased democracy in the Chinese Government are being taken at the current session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

The committee will adopt regulations on election of a National Assembly, to determine the future of China.

The session is the largest since the war began, 113 members being in attendance.

The introductory speech by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, outlining China's prospects of victory, met with approval in all political circles.

Dock Workers of Rouen, France Support USSR

(Special to Inter-Continental News)

ROUEN, France. (By mail via Amsterdam).—The Rouen Longshoremen's Union still stands on record today for the German-Soviet non-aggression pact despite the desperate efforts of the reactionary leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) to force adoption of an anti-Soviet resolution.

The C.O.T. set up a so-called "Committee for the Defense of the Interests of Rouen Longshoremen" as a dual union. This "Committee" hastened, at its "members' bidding, to condemn the pact and to defend French imperialism.

The Rouen longshoremen, who have a long-standing revolutionary tradition, are supporting their old trade union despite police persecution.

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Squalus Survivors

We're Not Part of U.S., Romanians Say

PN, Panama, Nov. 16 (ICN).—A leaflet being circulated through Panama denies vigorously the charge of Senator William E. Borah that Panama is part of the United States from the point of view of its national

1992

The people of Panama are greatly concerned with the attempt to transfer American ships to Panama register, and see in this maneuver a great danger to their national security and independence, as well as a menace to their neutrality.

S.R. Takes Excellent of Soldiers Families

Army Troops Have No Fear of Leaving Their Families Destitute; Dependents, Invalids, Students, Children Are Cared-for

(Replied to the Daily Worker)

COW, col. 16.—Red Army soldiers called to the arms have no fear of leaving their dependents in the grip of poverty and destitution. Government grants to families of soldiers in military service does not bear the character of a bribe, but is part of the Soviet Government's obligations to its citizens.

an old mother or father
Army soldier is treated
most friendly attention
at government offices.

tain the government
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On the basis of the
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A soldier is compelled
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with the Soviet Govern-
ment concerning pay-
ments of men in
service, particularly the
franks and the "under-
natives and sergeants).

These allowances range from 80 to 100 rubles a month, depending on whether the family lives in the city or on a farm. They include children under 16, students under 18, as well as sisters and brothers under 16. A mother receives a grant when she is 55, a father when he is 60. While invalids receive support without consideration of age.

An important provision in this decree reads:

In the event of release from military duty because of sickness or injury the family receives support until the sickness pension payment begins. Families of killed or missing Red Army men receive support until pension payment begins."

These are conditions which far exceed provisions for support and pension payments in capitalist

Finish Fight, Nazis Declare In Statement

Declares Britain, France Forced War—Peace on Victory, He Assests

BERLIN, Nov. 16 (UP).—An authorized German spokesman said today that Germany is compelled to settle down for a fight to the finish because Britain and France have served "new declarations of war" by their rejection of the Belgian-Netherlands peace appeal and mediation offer.

The authorized spokesman said that Germany will continue the war "until British supremacy has been destroyed," and only then can there be talk of peace terms.

"We did not want this war," the authorised statement said. "It was forced upon us by Britain and France. We will be ready to talk on conditions only when the war is ended victoriously for us."

The statement was made in response to a question, in connection with Hitler's negative reply yesterday to the Belgian-Dutch peace offer, as to what the German peace conditions are.

We shall show that, just as we are ready for peace, we also are ready for a victorious war," the speaker added.

the spokesman was bitter in as-
serting what he called British and
French propaganda efforts to por-
tray Germany as weak internally
unable to fight a long war.

the greatest mistake made by anti-German propaganda has been the endeavor to create the illusion in Allied and neutral circles that Germany was not prepared to fight to the finish." He stated.

SEA SUPERIORITY CLAIMED

"It had been affirmed that Germany would not venture to take military action on a large scale and had therefore planned an attack on Holland and Belgium in order to render military successes in the West inconceivable. When this assertion no longer appeared plausible it was predicted that Germany would take action in Southeast Europe."

The official DNB news agency said the activity of German U-boats was increasing rapidly.

Contrary to "repeated" enemy reports that U-Boats are being destroyed, it was said, German submarines are returning regularly to their home bases and reports are coming in of British steamship

Referring to a British report-that
German training in the Netherlands

3 Killed As British Plane Crashes Into Seine River

VERSAILLES, France, Nov. 10 (UP).—Three men were killed when a British Royal Air Force plane crashed into the Seine River near Villeneuve St. Georges last night, it was announced today. Engine trouble was believed to have been responsible.

from the
SOVIET UNION

PUBLICATIONS: Moscow News, illustrated weekly in English, \$2 year; Sovietland, illustrated monthly, \$1.50 year; International Literature, monthly, \$2.50 year; USSR to Construction, of line monthly, \$3 year.

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needed today following collapse of the Dutch-Belgian peace appeal, completion of plans for evacuation of nearly 200,000 women and children from lowland areas if any invasion threatens.

The Willeghem ship passages on the southwestern coast, dredged channels of the Scheldt River used by Dutch and Belgian shipping, were understood to have been closed but officials refused to discuss the action on the grounds that matters of military secrecy are involved.

Belgian shipping circles were disturbed by the closing of the Willeghem passages, forcing their vessels to take the more difficult Ostend Channel into the North Sea, and mild protests were raised during the day in the Belgian Parliament at Brussels.

Minister of Interior Hendrick Van Boven announced that all details have been arranged for the flooding and evacuation of the low areas and that lists will be issued to bourgeois masters of villages and towns in the affected regions, indicating the manner of removing civilian populations in event of an emergency.

Although military authorities would immediately take over all hospitals, it was explained that sufficient beds would be available for aged and infirmed persons unable to be moved.

Workers School Starts Lectures on Imperialist War

Opening a series of four lectures dealing with all major aspects of the war, Milton Howard, member of the Daily Worker's editorial board, will speak this Saturday, Nov. 18, at 2:30 P. M.

Mr. Howard's discussion will center around six major points: 1) The general nature of imperialism as the cause of war; 2) New aggressions following the Versailles Peace; the drive of German fascism for a redivision of the world; 3) The essence of the Chamberlain policy; the plot against the Soviets; and the failure of this plot; 4) The second imperialist war as a reactionary war; the official policy of England and France; 5) The position of American imperialism as a world power; and its aims today; 6) Alignments in the present war; the Soviet peace policy; the outlook for the world.

Harry Gannes, James Allen and V. J. Jerome are the other three speakers in the series. Each will discuss a different aspect of the war.

Registration for the course is now proceeding in the office of the Workers School. The fee for the entire course is \$1. If any places are left, single admissions will be sold for 25 cents.

The Mental Effects of War and Propaganda on Civilian and Military Populations

This also explains why the total of mental cases during the Spanish war was practically insignificant compared to the first World War when the people hardly knew or understood why they were in combat.

The doctor informed his audience that the war in Spain is still going on. It is going on in the minds of the people who will never surrender until the people have won.

BLACKOUT OF CULTURE

Just arriving from England, he noted another striking difference between the two wars. Whereas during the Spanish war there was a rebirth in scientific investigation and art, there is a total blackout of culture and science in England and France today.

"I have never seen such a drive for cultural expansion, such a need for constructive activity and creation as I saw in my people during the war. That is, not only a considerable improvement in technical devices and inventions took place, but also a renaissance of poetry, music, literature and painting emerged from hitherto unknown sources. Even now when the Spanish Republicans are in concentration camps in France, living in the worst conditions, deprived of help and means, they still conserve their faith and need of expression and creation that makes them produce a considerable amount of intellectual work."

Dr. Mira who holds 70 titles in the field of psychology and 40 in the field of psychiatry, is now on his way to Buenos Aires where he will take up a post in the University of Buenos Aires.

ASK REFUGEE AID

Dr. Walter B. Cannon, of Harvard Medical School, presided and called upon the distinguished guests to aid the refugees to find a new home in the new world. Among the other speakers were Dr. Kennedy and Isabella de Palencia, minister of the Spanish Republic to Sweden and Finland and a member of the first delegation to the United States after the beginning of the war. She made a stirring appeal for funds to carry on the work of rehabilitating Spanish refugees in France.

Prominent among the guests were: Lieutenant Negrin, son of the former Spanish Premier Negrin; Jo Davidson, noted American sculptor who spent many months in Spain sculling many leaders of Republican Spain; Dr. Edward Barry; Dr. Douglas Fryer; Dr. John L. Elliot; Gardner Murphy; Noan C. Lewis; George W. Hartman; Miss A. Gordon Hamilton; Dr. J. McKen Cattell; Dr. W. J. Bingham and others.

Neighbor Policy is still in practice. I need not call your attention to the attempted transfer of American vessels to Panamanian registry, as a means of evading the recently Neutrality Act.

"Such attempt to use the sovereignty of a small sister Latin American country for the benefit of certain shipping companies is, indeed, hardly compatible with the Good Neighbor Policy.

"I am proud," he went on, "to belong to a people for whom the cry 'liberty' has always found a living echo. To the first Negro people who have broken their chains and crushed slave domination after an implacable war against Bonaparte's France. I am proud as an individual and as a Haitian citizen that one of my ancestors, General Andre Rigaud, fought in Savannah in 1798 for the independence of North America."

HITS WRECKERS OF CULTURE

Castigating Chamberlain's crusade for a bogus democracy no different from that of Hitler, Mr. Roumain said:

"We hate fascism with its racial myth which is a challenge to science, an insult to man's dignity. We condemn a regime which burns the books of Heine, reduces Hindemith to silence, outlaws aesthetically Rembrandt, Cezanne, Van Gogh, and drives into exile the best thinkers of modern Germany.

"But he also refuse to adhere to those who have imprisoned the great writer Louis Aragon and who make use of the same methods of brutal persecution while pretending to fight it in their enemy, by sending millions of men to their death.

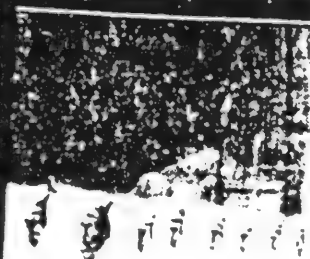
"We oppose a spurious crusade for liberty when this same liberty is refused to India. We oppose the bloody carnival of a holy war for democracy when the most modest enjoyment of this same democracy is refused to Africa and India."

"An analysis of the character of this war which threatens to crush us in its murderous machinery, and its effect upon present day history of the American people seems to me a more urgent task than to stir the dust of archives in a professional manner or to orate upon the culture of literature."

"Who is not against war is for war. I urged the voices of the men of good will, from Argentina to the United States to unite, to harmonize in a single symphony of brotherhood. May they rise and proclaim the unshakable will of all the Americas to preserve the inextinguishable dream of humanity—peace and liberty."

Other speakers were: William Pickens, N.A.A.C.P. leader; Isobel Walker Bond; Ralph Humphreys, and Jean Lamotte. Several poems were read by Gwendolyn Bennett, well known Negro writer.

Squalus Survivor



Officers and crew of the ill-fated submarine, N. H. Navy Yard as Lieut. Oliver F. Nacraft in which twenty-six men lost their service until next May, anniversary of

Vancouver Mayor Urges Civilians to Support War Effort

SEATTLE, Nov. 16.—In a stinging condemnation of the imperialist war in Europe, Mayor W. L. Telford of Vancouver, British Columbia, yesterday told the Washington Commonwealth Federation that Canadians wanted to know what the war is being fought for.

"Canadians are a courageous people, willing to give their lives if they know what they are fighting for," he said.

But, he said, "are not sure yet just what we are fighting for. There's a lot of excitement and some people think they know why."

Smith College Of War in

Dr. William Alland Neilson, President emeritus of Smith College, complained Wednesday in a speech thumping the drums of war that American student youth are not anxious to go to fight.

"For the moment the attitude of our academic youth seems to be so largely self-centered that one doubts

Survivors Attend Decommissioning



Submarine *Squalus* stand at attention on deck of the craft in Portsmouth, N.H., as the commander, reads decommissioning orders. The underwater craft was the last of its kind when it plunged to the bottom during a test dive, will be out of the disaster. Thirty-two survivors, including the commander, took part in the ceremony.

Mayor Asks What War Is Civil Liberties Guarded

There is a war, but nobody has told us what it's all about.

"ECONOMIC INSANITY"

He describes the present European war as "economic insanity." "Neither the victor nor the vanquished will win this time," he said last time.

"Great Britain," he said, "financed Germany. It loaned them a lot of money. Canada sent millions of pounds of nickle to Germany, but now the darn stuff is

coming back a lot faster than it went over—in arms and bullets, designed to kill those who went it over."

"You in this nation," he said, "can make no finer contribution to the civilized world than by keeping your heads, keeping cool, keeping your democratic processes working and continuing your efforts to improve the standards and social conditions of your citizens."

Prexy Thumps Drums Attack Against Youth

Under the form in which pacifism was brought to them during these times, was the best for their spiritual growth," he declared plaintively at closing exercises of the 50th anniversary celebrations at Barnard

The young men today seem to be concerned with safety and

the old men with life every Thursday," he added.

Dr. Neilson indicated that his main thought was on what he called "justice and liberty," though the remainder of his address showed that he interpreted these two concepts in the fashion of the British and French imperialist warmakers.

rolling in of British steamship forces.

Referring to a British report that the German steamer *Schwabenland* had been sunk by a British cruiser, it was said that the *Schwabenland* had been safe in a German harbor since August, a month before the war started.

The D.N.B. reported "beller action" by patrols on the western front between the Moselle and Saar rivers but said that the Upper Rhine front was absolutely quiet and that British soldiers digging trenches on the west bank of the Rhine waver their hands at the Germans, "to indicate their satisfaction with the quiet."

New British Ambassador To France Is Received

PARIS, Nov. 10 (UP).—Sir Ronald Hugh Campbell, new British Ambassador to France, presented his credentials to President Albert Lebrun at Elysee Palace today.

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Everyone wants quality silverware! Now you can get this six-piece unit of William A. Rogers Silver Plate for seven Daily Worker Silverware Certificates as printed below, plus 99 cents. This unit is regularly \$2.67. In just six weeks you can have a beautiful \$16.00 service for six—for only \$5.94!

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1 Salad Knife
1 Spoon
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**FORT HUACHUCA AND 99TH
PURSUIT SQUADRON
By William Pickens**

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WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-17"

The Negro in the Army and in the Air; so much is said about it nowadays, and so much on mere imagination and theory. Some people's passion against "racial segregation", for example, blinds them to any excellence in the Negro's American military record and to his starting participation in the air forces.

Go to Arizona and look at Fort Huachuca, its thousands of Negro soldiers and their daily routine and combat practice: a Negro Army post and as real an Army post as our Army has. Drill, machine gun practice, hill and mountain and prairie terrain; clean barracks, sanitary fixtures, recreation halls. At Fort Huachuca one feels the cordial relationship between soldier and officer. In December there was in process of construction one of the most commodious U S O Centers, hard by the Fort's main entrance gates. That U S O Center is being dedicated today, as I write. The guards at those gates are polite and prompt,-- but efficient and positive. Fort Huachuca is not a plot for getting rid of Negroes who want to join the Army. It is an efficient institution for integrating colored Americans into our armed forces. To any man with guts in his body and brains in his head, it is a thrill.

And then there is, still in process of construction at Tuskegee, the great air field of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, Negro unit. I had read so much belly-aching complaint against this three million dollar Army project, that until I went to Tuskegee a few days ago and looked at it, I had the feeling that it was a white man's device to keep Negroes from learning to fly and fight. It seemed strange that the Army would spend three million dollars, and more, of our money just to spoil Negroes' chances, when the Army could do that for three cents. The old American mischief-maker, segregation, is still in the Army, and out of the Army, and will be there for some generations to come,--but, by heaven, this 99th Pursuit Squadron Field is nothing to increase or promote segregation, but will make a dint in it. Those black boys are going to get into the air and prove their equality. Since racial segregation is based on or implies the theory or the fact of inequality, there can be no argument against segregation as convincing as the establishment of the actual fact of Equality. This 99th Pursuit Squadron Base is no expensive sham; it is a great training field with two runways that cross each other at right angles, to facilitate take-off and landing, whichever way the winds may be blowing. One of those smoothly paved run-ways measured exactly nine-tenths of a mile on the speedometer of my car. A great community; fine barracks, recreation halls, power plants, hangars, library, reservoir, sewage disposal plant. They have even changed the course of a river to make room for a corner of this field,-- as General Grant rerouted the Mississippi to by-pass Vicksburg. Segregation based on skin-color or eye-color is damned nonsense, of course,-- but this man's Army is not planning to break or make segregation; it is planning to win the war, in spite of segregation or of those who oppose segregation. That is the Army's business. If the Army were led by fools, they might decide to settle the "race question" first,-- and then try to win this war afterward; which would involve a plan to win the present World War in some distant time following the next World War. The Army may not settle the race problem but it will not give any comfort to those who despise Negroes by the erection of this black air base.

Segregation is not of the Army; it's of the American people. When the American people change or advance in this social field, their Army will change or advance. We must take the lead; the Army will not become a leader in such matters;-- especially not in times of war. There is something much bigger than social segregation before this Army now.

From what one had read before visiting this air-base, one might have thought that Tuskegee Institute had committed a crime by donating the land to the Army for that purpose,-- as Tuskegee also donated land for the great Veterans Hospital and for a plant to treat little black children who are suffering from infantile paralysis. Well, Tuskegee is used to that; what they are cursed for in one generation, they are blessed for in the next generation. By these acts Tuskegee is making itself one of the great centers of American and of Negro life on this continent. Tuskegee is fighting segregation; for the most basic thing in the fight against racial contempt and racial segregation is Achievement. (F.S. -- if we can get to it later, we want to tell you how successfully Negro Contractors, McKissack and McKissack, are constructing this project, with the aid of a dozen hundred black workers and several hundred white workers,-- in Alabama!)

William Pickens

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

February 10, 1942

My dear Mr. Pickens:

At the instruction of the Board of Directors I transmit to you herewith the following excerpts from the minutes of the meeting of the Board

held on February 9, 1942:

The Board considered a syndicated article written by Mr. William Pickens which appeared in the New York Amsterdam Star-News for January 31, 1942, entitled "Pursuit Squadron" and commenting on the establishment of a segregated unit at Tuskegee Institute for the training of Negro aviators. In the opinion of the Board Mr. Pickens in his article advocated segregation in the Army, taking a position directly opposite to that maintained by the Association. (The article in its entirety is attached hereto)

Following lengthy discussion, On motion of Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That Mr. Pickens be notified that his stand on the matter of segregation in the United States Army is so contrary to the repeated stand taken by the N.A.A.C.P. and officially taken by the Association's Board of Directors that the Board feels he cannot be reappointed to the executive staff; that Mr. Pickens be informed of his rights under the resolution passed by the Board at this meeting.

The Resolution referred to above follows:

RESOLVED, That except for new appointments expressly made on other terms, the following regulations shall affect appointment and tenure:

1. Appointments shall be for the budget year, subject to dismissal for cause, after notice and opportunity for hearing and appeal to the Board of Directors, and subject to emergency reductions of salaries affecting the entire staff.
2. Whenever the executive officer proposes not to reappoint an employee, at least sixty (60) days notice shall be given before the end of the budget year.
3. Duties of various positions shall be outlined during the current year, subject to change at the discretion of the executive officer.
4. These regulations shall be effective from March 1, 1942; provided however, that this shall not be interpreted as a renewal of contract on a yearly basis for any executive officer while on leave or for whom other recommendations have heretofore been made.

Very Sincerely
/s/ Walter White
Secretary

Mr. William Pickens
Room 24 - Treasury Building
Washington, D. C.

400 T Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 17, 1942

Mr. Walter White and Board of Directors
N. A. A. C. P.,
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Secretary and Members of the Board:

Mr. White's letter of February 10th reached me in Washington, February 14th, on my return.

The letter says that it was felt by members of the Board present at the meeting of February 9th that a recent editorial of mine "advocated segregation in the Army". I have not the clipping and newspaper display (Mr. White failed to enclose it), but I will find a copy of my words in the files.

I have never "advocated" racial segregation anywhere, in the Army or out of it. But I look with realism upon the dilemmas which face us in these times,—these times which bristle with dilemmas: for Negroes, for labor, for pacifists, and for others.

For Negroes there is American segregation, against which he is making some progress, but which will not be wiped out in this generation not the next. And on the other hand there is the threat of fascist victory, which would bring the Negro the most awful and complete segregation he has ever

been afflicted with, and even complete ouster, and for many years. That is certainly for him a dilemma, requiring more horse sense than theory.-- To advocate a policy for meeting that dilemma is to advocate a policy, not to advocate segregation.

For labor there is a like dilemma: workers have the right to strike in America, and A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have the right to fight each other; but if they bring a fascist victory by fighting and striking during this war, they will strike out for labor for generations to come. Fortunately most of them seem to have the good sense to see that in time, now.

Then there are the pacifists, idealistically against war; but Einstein, Mann and Sherwood Eddy, and many others have come to see that if they oppose this war in a way to make this country lose it, then they will gain a war status, or a status far worse than war, for the next 500 years at least, and a situation that will bring the absolute suppression of pacifism.

Abraham Lincoln glimpsed such a dilemma: Union or Slavery. He chose union, not because he advocated slavery, but because the preservation of the union was necessary to any final disposition of slavery for generations to follow. The best prospect for the slave was that there should be union and the defeat of secession. He did not advocate slavery, but in an emergency he, like a good general, chose the better part.

Mr. White says the Board directed him to advise me of my rights, and I assume that he alludes to the rights mentioned in his number one quotation from the Board's minutes of February 9th: the right to meet with the Board, face to face, and ask and answer questions, to arrive at a complete understanding of each other's position. Then of course, the Board must decide, if it has not already decided.

I shall be happy to have such a conference: at your meeting of March 9th, by flying back from St. Louis, Missouri, where I work on the 8th; or more conveniently at your meeting of April 13th, if I hear immediately. Or we might set some special date possible for all of us.

Very truly/yours,

William Pickens
William Pickens

April 13, 1942

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
By William Pickens

Members of the Board of Directors:-

This principal statement I write, because the written word is clearer, more economical of time, and easier to recall than memory.

Since May 15, 1941, I have been working for the United States Government, in the Treasury Department, on leave of absence from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On April 30 (?) an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury had called and said: "We want you." -- That was my first knowledge, word, information or intimation about it. No person had previously written or spoken to me on the subject. I have heard that that is hard for some people to believe. It is difficult for one to believe anything that differs very widely from one's own experience. It was difficult for some to believe, when I stood at the head of a non-partisan committee in the last national campaign, that I would not accept a cent of pay for it. In that case, Wendell Wilkie could have answered: I had told him, face to face, that I was only a citizen and voter, and that any offer of pay would be to me "an insult." In this case (of the Treasury), all one has to do is to consult the head of my division.

But I am an American, and have always been, since as a little child I followed the American spirit along in our little history books. So I answered the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury: "Yes, I will come down and talk the matter over. No, you need not pay my expenses for the trip, for I was planning to come anyway, at my own expense, to speak at the National Folk Festival, tomorrow. I will come in to see you next day."

On the day set we had a little conference, with another Treasury official who heads the entire Defense Securities set-up. They never told me who had mentioned me or why. I never asked. "We have had the very highest recommendations of you," they said. I informed them that final decision rested with the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that the Treasury, not I, must ask for my release. They asked. The President of the Association said that we could not afford to run out on a need or request of the government. The release was granted and the Treasury wired me to report for duty on May 15th.

I went to work. Fortunately for me, I did not have to be converted to the belief that the security of the United States involves the security of all of us. That I had believed so long that I felt that I knew it. It constitutes one or more of the threads in the web of all the speaking and writing I have ever done,--especially in the old World War, and more especially since World War II broke out in September, 1939. I have a sneaky suspicion that what really recommended me to those officials, was some incidental acquaintanceship with those spontaneous ideas of mine, expressed without ulterior motives. Several times in the preceding months I had heard, from different people, that Vice President Henry Wallace, in his speech at the Negro World's Fair in Chicago, had used most or much of the time reading to the people little editorials of mine from the Associated Negro Press, saying meanwhile: "I have never met William Pickens. I do not know William Pickens. Perhaps you know him. But all of us can follow this good Americanism of his," and then he would read from another of the little editorials, that were never written with any such ambition in the mind of the writer.--I have not yet met Henry Wallace, but I still believe that he could not save any part of America, least of all the American Negro part, if we lost America as a whole.

I have been fighting for my race, never hostile to my country, for nearly half a hundred years. For forty years I have repeatedly risked my life in the fight against undemocratic and unnecessary public discriminations based on race; thirty-three years of that time in the service of the Association, the first eleven years without pay of any sort (while I was a college professor or official) and the last 22 years on whatever wages the Board found it convenient to pay.

Therefore it was not less astonishing to me than it seems to be to almost everybody else, when I received a letter from the Secretary indicating that some of the Board members who were at the February, 1942, meeting, were of the opinion that one article of mine after 40 years of article writing, had one phrase in it which "advocated segregation." The Secretary's letter did not say one phrase, but I learned later from the newspapers and others that the criticized phrase was: that the "army is planning to win the war, in spite of segregation or of those who oppose segregation." The substance of that impartial phrase seems to me, and always has seemed to me, so simply true that it hardly needs to be stated. I who wrote it, have some idea of what it means to say: that in spite of the pros or the cons on any domestic problem, it is the business of the army, especially in time of war, to win that war; that it is neither the duty nor the capacity of the army to settle our peace-time social problems, even in peace time; that regardless of who favors segregation or who

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opposes it, all of us together must support the army in doing its job; and that this war, the greatest of all our wars, enhances the logic and the sense of that position. Pro-segregationists and anti-segregationists, peace-time opponents, should be war-time comrades. In that article it is very clearly indicated that the writer is with the anti-segregationists, but indicated only incidentally, for it did not seem necessary, after forty years, to say so at all.— Our domestic struggles should not be abandoned, but should be tempered and directed in such wise as to give no aid or comfort or hope to the enemy.

As it now happens, the greatest enemy of our country is also the greatest enemy of the Negro race. The situation calls for honesty, for frankness, for straight-shooting, and no shenanigans. We do not abandon our domestic issues; we control them so that they may not betray us. If the whites are wise, they will relax their opposition to Negroes. If the Negroes are wise, they will not expect the whites to do all the relaxing. Priorities must be given to the plans for the defense of the United States as a whole. No passion or emotion can shake the fact that no domestic issue, however dear to its own propagandists, can be more than secondary to the great national and international interests. Individual freedom naturally impresses the individual more, but his intelligence says that he cannot have it and lose national freedom. White Americans have the right to fight for their opinions; colored Americans have the right to fight for their opinions. In opposing opinions in a democracy, which is right and which is wrong? If both sides speak, both are right and the other is wrong. Minorities are likely to forget that majorities, in spite of their bigness, have the same right to expression. Majorities are likely to grow impatient and violent toward minorities. Democracy is the only form of government that gives minorities protection and a chance, until education and history may give the minority opportunity to justify its claims.

Just two more things, briefly stated: First, why did I write "Fort Huachuca and the 99th Pursuit Squadron"? In general I wrote it just as I had written thousands of other editorials in the last 25 years. But in particular, I wrote it because these two army posts are so competent, so impressive, and hope-inspiring; and in very particular, because the officers of these two posts, not the white officers but the colored officers, pleaded: "Mr. Pickens, why does not somebody tell the truth about this place? They come here and go away and only tell that it is a separate place for the training of colored troops, leaving the impression that it is a dump. Everybody knows already that it is a segregated institution, but none of our papers seem to know that Fort Huachuca is one of the best Army posts in the United States." So I spoke Shirley Graham, colored USO official at Fort Huachuca, in December, 1941, and every Negro army officer and every Negro official of the auxiliary services, who spoke about it, backed her up. Besides that, I had my own eyes and senses. Three times before I had visited Fort Huachuca and had written about it, once in condemnation and twice in praise. It is only coincidental, perhaps, but the time when it got from me the greatest praise was when two southern white men, one from Tennessee and the other from Alabama, were the heads of the Fort, and their Negro soldiers were enthusiastically devoted to those two southern colonels. The time of condemnation was when cold-blooded commanders from another part of the country were in charge. The Negro soldiers and their families hated them, and on a visit of a few days I learned to despise them, and I castigated them to the War Department.— Similarly, at the 99th Pursuit Squadron Base at Tuskegee in January, colored men and officials asked: "Why does not some one tell the country how splendidly we are doing here? Why do they all try to depress us by abusing this airfield as an inefficient as well as a segregated training place?"— With my own eyes I saw that the government was not only spending millions of dollars to make a genuine airport and training base, but to make sure that the work was well-done they had put on the job one of the country's best firms of Negro contractors.

Now, the last thing: You have received a few letters from people. I know because in a few cases, they sent me copies of their letters. Their copies were the first articles to me that they even intended to write. Some who saw me, said: "Shall we write the NAACP?" My reply amounted to: "You are grown. Use your head."— I avoided newspapers religiously, except to say "Thank you!" for some generous word. For in their zeal for publicity, I knew how newspapers may hurt an organization.

I have never advocated segregation, not because I would think that any other American who did or does advocate segregation, is a criminal who ought to be shot, but because I differ from him in opinion,—believing as I do that in the long run racial segregation is against the interests and the best destiny of America. While we are pursuing that destiny, which we shall not reach by the end of the present generation, we must continually adjust ourselves in *semper vivendi* which will not set that destiny back. We are not a perfect nation, but when we move, we want to move forward, not backward. I do advocate, however, with all my heart the use of common sense in this greatest of all wars, and in this greatest menace to the human and to the social security of black people in the history of the world.

Wm. Pickens
William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "I"

As a result of a report of the Dies Committee made by Congressman Dies on the floor of the House and reported in the Congressional Record of February 1, 1943, an interview was held with Mr. William Pickens who was listed by the Dies Committee as being a member or sponsor of certain organizations which are purported to be un-American, by Mr. James A. Jordan, Jr., Special Agent, Intelligence Unit, and Mr. Charles W. Adams, Assistant to the Executive Director, War Savings Staff.

The transcript of the interview is as follows:

Mr. Adams: Q. Mr. Pickens, what we want to talk to you about, you probably have guessed, is the Dies Committee Report.

Mr. Pickens: A. I had an idea, but I did not know.

Mr. Adams: Q. Probably the best way to proceed would be for Mr. Jordan to go back to his original report and check with you the list that the Dies Committee states you are connected with. Mr. Jordan also had at that time a list of law-suits which you wrote him a letter about.

Mr. Pickens: A. I know I wrote Mr. Jordan a letter.

Mr. Adams: Q. You wrote him a letter saying that you were not the William Pickens included in this list.

Mr. Pickens: A. I was not that William Pickens, I was never sued in my life, except once in an auto accident in California. I was completely exonerated.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember my first interview on September 30, 1941?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember the interview very well. I did not remember the date.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember a list of certain organizations of which you were a member and for which you spoke?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember that you had such a list. I was a member of very few if any of them, long ago, and had spoken at mass meetings of some.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Here is a copy of that list. I am going over this fully. Did you at that time deny making the speeches referred to in that list?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, Sir.

Two

- Mr. Jordan: Q. Did you make a speech at the American Rescue Ship Mission in Manhattan Center on December 1, 1940?
- Mr. Pickens: A. After hearing that there was some question about the Rescue Ship Movement and use of its funds, I, with other liberal people, withdrew from the rally.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. In connection with this rally, to what extent did you participate?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I was just an invited speaker, because they knew that people liked to hear me on liberal social questions and democracy.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. You delivered one speech?
- Mr. Pickens: A. If I spoke at all it was only one brief speech.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member?
- Mr. Pickens: A. Not a member. I was a speaker invited because I had just been in Spain.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the New York Tom Mooney Committee?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not think I was ever a member of the Thomas Mooney Committee, but I remember nearly 20 years ago, when I read that all the eleven living members of the jury that had convicted him wanted him released, I made a poor man's contribution and hoped for his release.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Then you were not a member of the Tom Mooney Committee?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I was never a member of the Committee, and do not recall ever being asked to become a member of the Tom Mooney Committee.
- Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that the Tom Mooney Committee was supposedly made up of Communists?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I knew that some members of the Committee were not Communists, and I was indifferent to politics in the matter.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. What was your connection with the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights? You are listed as a sponsor.
- Mr. Pickens: A. "Inalienable Rights" sounds so much like what I was taught in my school histories that if I was ever asked to sign as a sponsor for a meeting to discuss them, I might have done so. I certainly do not remember ever attending such a meeting.

Three

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Mr. Jordan: Q. Did you ever participate in an appeal on behalf of San Darcy with the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not remember the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties and was never active in this organization.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Did you sign the petition which appeared in the "Daily Worker" dated December 19, 1940, urging the release of San Darcy?

Mr. Pickens: A. In December 1940, the Daily Worker had been "cussing" me out for nearly ten years. I would be signing nothing for them then. However, I may have signed the petition urging the release of San Darcy which was published in the Daily Worker, but this petition was signed by me only because I was interested in San Darcy as an individual and had no relationship to politics. As a matter of fact, I do not even know whether Darcy ever was or is today a Communist.

Mr. Adams: Q. San Darcy, as I understand it, was purported to be a Communist member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know of that organization, but have a faint memory of the name "Darcy". I read the papers.

Mr. Adams: Q. If anyone requested you to make a statement or to sign a petition or any other document, would you as a matter of fact inquire to find out if the individual or the organization was involved in communistic work?

Mr. Pickens: A. I often inquired and often refused to sign documents or statements because I suspected the radicalism or communism of the people submitting them. However, I never asked about the politics of an audience which I was invited to address, but only about the subject which they wanted to discuss. Our organization was always asking for speakers.

Mr. Adams: Q. Were you, as a matter of fact, ever a Communist?

Mr. Pickens: A. I never was a Communist. I never had an idea that I ever could be a Communist.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Mr. Pickens: A. In 1938 I went to Spain, as an observing tourist, on a regular American passport, and as an observer for some New York medical and ambulance committee. I saw something

Four.

of the Civil War damage. When I returned, all sorts of organizations asked me to tell what I saw. Perhaps I also gave my dollar in collections, but I never was a member of any active committee. I may have been listed as a member of the committee solely because I gave a dollar toward their cause.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you connected with the publication entitled "Fight?"

Mr. Pickens: A. I never was connected with the publication called "Fight", but I recall seeing one or two issues of it. I had not the time to read it. I may have been listed as Vice-Chairman but not with my consent.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not recall being asked to be Vice-Chairman of "Fight". They would not ask me if it were communistic. The Communists had no use for my association after "The Scottsboro Case."

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the Council for Pan-American Democracy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was in the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The aim seemed good in the face of European Facism.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you take any part in the programs or organization?

Mr. Pickens: A. I conferred and argued at meetings of their Executive Committee, but they always selected others to speak at their large meetings.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you contribute any articles or make speeches for these organizations?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People having more to do with gathering funds and memberships than other officers. These other organizations offered us opportunities for getting our wares before the public and I may have spoken before many of these organizations. Politics would not enter into it. I never pretended to be a Communist, they knew it.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You are listed as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Mr. Pickens: A. The Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born is a very normal and sane organization for the protection of Negro-Americans and helping them to help in his organizations.

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- Mr. Jordan: Q. You are listed as sponsor of the Citizens Rally on April 13, 1940, held by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not remember ever having attended a meeting or a committee "For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom" but the aim sounds so good that I might have signed as a perfunctory "sponsor" for such a meeting.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember anything about this organization?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember nothing about such an organization, except the name.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. You are listed as a guest of honor at the meeting of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights held July 29, 1940, and the notice appeared in the Daily Worker on July 28, 1940.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not read the Daily Worker so I never say anything there. I cannot say "yes" or "no". I go to so many things. It may have been a dinner conference at which I was only a diner and listener.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you a member of the American Friends of Spanish People?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I went to Europe as a tourist in 1938. While in Europe the Medical Bureau Committee requested that I go to Spain as an observer of their work. I went at my own expense and the Committee secured for me a visa from the State Department. When I returned from Europe there were many meetings held for the needy Spanish people. They always passed the hat for donations and I always donated. Perhaps they call my donations a membership.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember contributing to the "New Masses" publication?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember writing, at the personal request of the editor of New Masses, whom I had seen a moment in Spain, an article a time or two, which he published, and (also at his request) an article a time or two which he refused to publish.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the article, "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist?"
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember quite well "Why the Negro Must Be Anti-Fascist". It was a good article when Fascism began to threaten the world.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the United States Congress Against War?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember a Congress of the League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was a member at its first meeting, but later Harry Laidler, Norman Thomas, Mary Fox, and many other non-Communists dropped out when the Communists (a few weeks after the first meeting) manifested a desire to make the League Communist.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you in that organization, or any organization, try to prohibit arms shipped to Europe?

Mr. Pickens: A. I had no interest or information about arms shipments to Europe. I was interested only in charity money for the poor people I had seen struggling there (in Spain).

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a signer of a letter to the President published in the "New Masses", published April 2, 1940.

Mr. Pickens: A. I have written and signed many letters to the President of the United States; but do not recall the specific one you mention.

Mr. Adams: Q. I understand the letter was to get one Mexican by the name of Constanta Lemana into this country to speak.

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember signing some letters, a time or two in the past, to try to get some person permission to visit the United States, as I myself had to get such aid when visiting foreign countries. I remember having been interested to get a Spanish woman leader in to lecture. The petition was not granted.

Mr. Adams: Q. The woman was refused a visa.

Mr. Pickens: A. It seemed, and seems, normal and right for a citizen to ask the President for such privileges, for himself or for others.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that this person was a Communist?

Mr. Pickens: A. I did not know what political party this woman belonged to. I knew only that she was a bright leader among Spanish Republicans when I was in Barcelona, and did all in her power to get me the privilege of seeing the inside workings of a city government under siege.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as speaker for People's Rally under auspices of the New York Chapter of the Spanish Aid Committee.

Mr. Pickens: A. I spoke at several rallies for Spanish People's Aid. I was sometimes listed as speaker, where I did not appear. The National Committee, however, was listing me as speaker.

Seven.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you have any connection with that Committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was never a member of the Committee, but I favored its effort to help, medically and by ambulances, the Spanish people.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Since your appointment to the War Savings Staff, what participation have you made in any other organization, either as a speaker or writer.

Mr. Pickens: A. I am a life member of the League for Industrial Democracy. I am also a member of the Urban League, Civil Liberties Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and social fraternities. I never cared for radical organizations, with whose work I have no time to check and interest myself in.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you in sympathy with any programs the Communists promote?

Mr. Pickens: A. Frankly, I have no objections to what Russians do in Russia, but am opposed to their running this country. I like democracy better after observing Communism a bit. This country strikes me as being better without Communism in control of government. I do not know much about their aims. Some of the aims may be very good.

Mr. Adams: Q. Were you a member of the national committee of any labor defense?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was a member of the International Labor Defense Committee, when it started, advertising itself as "non-partisan", and asking me and others to join,-- "to protect the rights of the persecuted workman," regardless of race or creed or nationality. After attending about two meetings of the Committee, I observed that the Communist brethren were running the show, and I simply dropped out, perhaps to their relief, and made no comment or protest.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you appear on a program with Congressman Marcantonio some time during the past two or three years?

Mr. Pickens: A. I recall speaking on one program, for Spanish Refugees, on which the Honorable Mr. Marcantonio was the principal speaker. The meeting was held in the same building where the Youth Congress had met the preceding summer, and at which Mrs. Roosevelt and I both spoke on different program hours.

Mr. Adams: Q. Mr. Pickens, these are all the questions I have to ask. Is there anything further you would like to say?

Eight.

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes. I have never yet been offered membership in the Communist Party. I have seen people of all political persuasions, from Honolulu to Warsaw, and from Seattle to Vienna, but no Communist ever yet asked me to join his party. They evidently did not deem me fit to do so.

One thing which brought me into nominal membership with many liberal and lawful organizations, was the fact that I was an officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and we were continually asking others to join, and pay their dollar, and then forget it if they wished. Naturally we returned the compliment when they asked us to join, if they were not too radical and if we had the dollar. I have been a member of meetings and organizations in which there was some Communist member, sometimes to my knowledge, oftener perhaps without my knowledge.

My intellectual curiosity, as the Director of my Division calls it, since I left Yale University, has brought me into many contacts, but has never yet made me a Communist. There is no doubt in my mind that if I had lived for 60 more years, without ever seeing the inside of a Treasury office, I could never have become a Communist. It was my own choice. If I could have agreed with them, I would long ago have joined them. But I am a democrat, and will always be so. It is the privilege of an American.

When the League Against War and Facism was organized, I was a member of the organizing committee, which started with a "Congress Against War and Facism." I went in as a member of the League for Industrial Democracy, with Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, Mary Fox, and at their suggestion and request. It was a great Congress,-- men from ocean to ocean and from the gulf to the lakes. It was depression time, and many had hitchhiked to New York.

The Congress was intended by all of us to be strictly "non-partisan" and by no means Communist. But a few weeks after our great meeting, I (being in Chicago at the time) received a telegram from the Secretary of the League of International Democracy, representing Thomas, Laidler, et al., that they were resigning because the Communists were talking too much power and position in the movement,-- and saying frankly that since I went into it under their influence, and as a member of the League of International Democracy only, they knew that I would also want to resign. I wired Miss Fox my resignation to go along with hers and the other League of International Democracy people.

Nine.

(9)

That ended that. The League later changed its name to The League For Peace and Democracy, but I never had anything more to do with it. Earl Browder and The Communists were perhaps in charge of it.

The foregoing statement consisting of nine (9) pages was made of my own free will and accord without any coercion or intimidation on the part of anyone, and is signed under oath as being true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

William Pickens
(Signed)

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 4th day of February, 1943,
in Washington, D. C.

James H. [Signature]
Special Agent and Deputy Collector
of Internal Revenue

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
CERTIFICATION OF AUTHENTICITY

CAMERA OPERATOR

b6
b7C

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I HAVE PHOTOGRAPHED THE
DOCUMENTS APPEARING ON THIS FICHE-FILE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES (66-19087-20).

CAMERA OPERATOR

DATE PRODUCED 3 August 1982

SUPERVISOR'S AUTHORITY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I HAVE SUPERVISED THE PHOTO-
GRAPHING OF THE DOCUMENTS APPEARING ON THIS FICHE-
FILE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES
(66-19087-20).

SUPERVISOR

DATE APPROVED 3 August 1982

RECORDED

April 29, 1948

SAC,

Washington Field

RE:

WILLIAM PICKERS
Director, Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Dear Sir:

You are instructed to conduct a full field investigation () a preliminary inquiry () concerning the above named individual. This investigation is to be assigned immediately and the results mailed to reach the Bureau by _____.

May 29, 1948

Attached for your assistance is a photostatic copy of the Request for Report on Loyalty Data furnished to the Bureau on this individual.

The Bureau files contain the following information regarding this person:

The report of Special Agent Logan J. Lang dated April 14, 1942, at Washington, D. C., Washington Field Office file 100-2190, entitled "William H. Pickers, Internal Security - Hatch Act," copied of which are designated for the New York Office, reflects that the applicant has been reported to have actively served in the Communist movement and to have engaged in activities detrimental to the best interests of the United States. Investigation disclosed that employee's name has appeared in connection with numerous organizations along with members of the Communist Party and that he has associated frequently with members of the Communist Party.

Employee's name appears as a sponsor for the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which Conference later merged into the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, under which group employee's name has appeared as a signer of a petition for the appeal of Darcay, a Communist.

Very truly yours,
(continued on attached page)

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 11

★ APR 30 1948 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

cc - New York

Bufile 101-3807

RER:ale
Enclosure

John Edgar Hoover
Director

3 AUG 1948

The employee's name appeared as vice-chairman of the American League against War and Fascism and he was an adult consultant at one time for the American Youth Conference.

It should be noted that each of the three groups mentioned above have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The American Committee for the Protection for the Foreign Born was cited as a Communist front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, on March 29, 1944. In the memorandum from Mr. T. Vincent Quinn, Assistant Attorney General dated March 1, 1948, it was stated that where there is any substantial evidence that an organization may fall within the purview of the President's Executive Order 9835, an investigation should be initiated. In this memorandum Mr. Quinn mentioned the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born as being one of these organizations.

In addition to the above organizations, employee has associated with a large number of groups which have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The report of Special Agent W. W. Fisher dated May 13, 1940, at New York City, New York file 61-060, entitled "Japanese Propaganda Activities in the United States; [redacted] Informant," reflects an interview with Confidential Informant [redacted]

[redacted] The informant stated that "Japanese propaganda work among negroes is headed by a person named [redacted] Another fountainhead for Japanese views is William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

b6
b7C
b7D

121 4978

STANDARD FORM 64 Revised August 1947 Civil Service		REQUEST FOR REPORT ON LOYALTY L. 1A	
THIS FORM TO BE USED FOR INCUMBENT EMPLOYEES AND EXCEPTED EMPLOYEES WHERE INVESTIGATION IS CONDUCTED BY AGENCY (Part VI—Executive Order 9835)			
To: The Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington 25, D. C. The following information is furnished for identification purposes on the person named below. Kindly furnish a report on any derogatory loyalty information contained in your files. (The fingerprints of this person are attached.)			
1. FULL NAME (Initials and abbreviations of full name are not acceptable)	(Surname) Pickens	(Given name) William	(Middle or other names)
2. ALIASES AND NICKNAMES None		3. DATE OF THIS REQUEST October 22, 1947	
4. SPECIAL NUMBERS KNOWN TO REQUESTING AGENCY (FBI number or FBI file number, passport number, Army or Navy serial number, seaman's certificate of identification, alien registration number, Social Security number, etc. Specify which) Social Security No. 068-07-8711			
5. PLACE OF BIRTH Anderson County, South Carolina		6. DATE OF BIRTH Jan. 15, 1881	7. TITLE OF POSITION, OCCUPATION OR PROFESSION Director, Interracial Section U.S. Savings Bonds Div., Treas.
8. SEX <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALE <input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE	9. MARITAL STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARRIED		10. IF MARRIED, GIVE SPOUSE'S FULL NAME, AND DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH Minnie Cooper McAlpine (Pickens), York, Ala. Apr. 17, 1880
11. ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH AFFILIATED OTHER THAN RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OR THOSE WHICH SHOW RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS Phi Beta Kappa Society; Phi Beta Kappa Associates; Omega Psi Phi Fraternity Associated Negro Press; National Urban League; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.			
12. DATES AND PLACES OF RESIDENCE FOR THE LAST 10 YEARS			
Date		Street	City State
1933-1947: Permanent--		260 West 139th St.,	New York 30 New York
Temporary: May, 1941 to Feb., 1942:		1203 Kenyon St. N.W.,	Washington D.C.
Temporary: Feb. 15, 1942 to present:		400 T St., N.W.,	Washington 1 D.C.
13. DATES, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF EMPLOYERS FOR THE LAST 10 YEARS			
Date		Employer	Address
1920-1942:		Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People,	69 Fifth Ave., New York City; now: 20 West 40th St., New York City
For two months in 1938 (June and July) --		U.S. Office of Education,	Forum Speaker, Columbia, S.C.
1941 to 1947 --		Savings Bonds Division, U.S. Treasury Department,	Washington 25, D.C.
14. THIS AGENCY HAS LOYALTY INFORMATION REPORT(S) FURNISHED BY THE AGENCIES INDICATED			
AGENCY WHICH MADE		DATE OF REPORT	RECORDED
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION			10 OCT 1947
MAILED 11			5/3/48
15. THIS SPACE RESERVED FOR RETURN REPORT TO AGENCY WHERE INFORMATION IS DEVELOPED		16. NAME AND ADDRESS OF REQUESTING AGENCY	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		Treasury Department Washington 25, D.C.	

17. REPORT OF DEROGATORY INFORMATION DEVELOPED

Date: 4/29/48

121 4978 1

FILES OF THIS BUREAU REVEAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS EMPLOYEE BRINGING THE EMPLOYEE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF EXECUTIVE ORDER #9835. INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED.

REF:OTB:ele:cg

FBI, Washington, D. C.

(Name of Reporting Agency)

INSTRUCTIONS ON PREPARATION OF STANDARD FORM 84

1. This form (Standard Form 84) is promulgated by the United States Civil Service Commission at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the purpose of carrying out the responsibilities with respect to incumbent employees under Part VI of Executive Order 9835.
2. A separate form (Standard Form 85) will be used for applicants or persons appointed after September 30, 1947, as provided in Part I of Executive Order 9835, except for excepted employees where investigation is conducted by the agency.
3. The employee's fingerprint chart, Standard Form 86, must be submitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the original and two copies of this form. The third carbon copy of the form should be retained by the agency.
4. If additional space is needed in filling in Items 12 and 13, use a separate sheet of paper, number the item to correspond with the item number on this form, indicate the name of the employee, and the name of the agency which furnished the information.
5. If the requesting agency has previously received loyalty information from any Government agency (including the Federal Bureau of Investigation) concerning the employee named in this form, the name of the agency which furnished the information and the date of this report should be shown in Item 14.
6. Item 15 is reserved for the use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
7. Whenever derogatory information is developed, it will be covered in Item 17 above.
8. For further details regarding the use of this form see the Federal Personnel Manual.

Subj: William Pick F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-7 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

SI	100-336902	2	R25 732
N	100-88143	642	R25
SI	100-24728	5	R25 732
SI	61-3176	263	R25 732
N	100-335141	8	R25
SI	100-24427	56	R25 732
SI	61-524	61	R25 732
SI	61-190	181	732 732
SI	61-7561	238, 241, 2	R25 732
SI	61-7563	69, 63	R25 732
SI	61-524	56	R25 732
N	61-7347	52, 2	R25
SI	61-524	4978	R25 732
SI	88-1027	74	732 732
SI	61-7582	1380, 224	R25 732
LT	61-23170	129	732

Subj: William Pick F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-7 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

SI	61-7582	1308, 264	R25 732
SI	61-23170	2386	732
SI	44235	147, 2509	SI 732
SI	100-135-53	7243	R25
SI	100-135-54	229, 17, 181	R25
N	100-3 and 14	2913, 289	R25
121 4978			

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-7 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

SI 61-3176 139 R25 732
SV 61-524 74 R25 732
101-0 98
N 100-135 sub-26 174, p 25 R25
61-3176 139
N 100-132052 9 R25
N 100-135 sub-35 28 R25
SI 62-23170 159, p 270 R25
SV 61-7582 1380, p 38 R25
61-7582 sub-4 1000 comm
A 97-1078 24 R25 732
IN 62-20631 2 R25 732
25-035 145
N 100-32128 4978 99 R25
SI 61-10058 732 18 R25
N 100-135 sub-15 68 R25

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-7 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

SI 100-11820 33 R25 732
N 62-71873 32 R25
N 66-1731 4181
SV 100-95014 258 R25 732
SV 100-7061 296 R25 732
N 100-31159 90 R25
N 100-88143 91 R25
N 100-35128 13X R25 732
N 100-3 sub-14 2913, p 92, p 99 R25
N 66-1731 426
N 100-3 sub-32 81 R25
SI 61-7582 sub-4 13785
SV 61-7582 732
61-7582 1214 R25
N 100-32128 4978 99 R25
N 100-32128 4978 99 R25
N 100-7660 1315 R25 (12)

Subj: William Pigeon F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R#	Date	Searcher Initial
FILE NUMBER		SERIALS

ST	61-7347	27, 732 R25
ST	100-5557	185-132 R25
ST	100-1170	188 R25
	88-11671	58
ST	61-6543 aut A	
ST	100-7660	1815 R25 732
ST	100-35658-9	61, 124 R25
ST	100-5557	64X R25 732
ST	61-570	88 R25
ST	100-7046	32, 29
	7-1820	
ST	61-7561	558x, 267x 732
ST	61-7563	87 R25 732
ST	100-153578	48 R25 732
ST	100-153574	1 R25 732
ST	61-570 411	30, 28 R25 732

Subj: William Pigeon F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R#	Date	Searcher Initial
FILE NUMBER		SERIALS

ST	61-7561	277x23, 732
ST	61-7561	257x44 732
ST	61-3176	5-K T3 R25
ST	100-7058	115 R25 732
ST	100-351669	8, 16x61 R25
ST	61-7582-2	176 R25
ST	61-190	252 R25 732
ST	100-135	58732 R25
	7-1820	73245
ST	61-7558	732, 148x6 R25
ST	61-7589	132, 16, 14x R25
ST	100-3 aut 60	132, 172 R25
ST	100-7046	33 R25 732
ST	61-7563	88 R25 732
ST	61-7563	88 R25 732
ST	61-7563	88 R25 732
ST	61-7563	88 R25 732

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

61-23 *SV SV SV SV SV*
80, 191, 68, 187, 235
SV
61-50 *SV SV SV SV SV*
733, 135, 150, 211
SV SV SV SV SV
221, 186, 198
N 61-3006 *109 R25*
61-524 *SV SV SV SV SV*
21, 34, 42, 34, 57
SV
732
SV 61-4960 *9 R25*
SV 100-1170 *110 R25*
SV 61-407 *424, p 43*
3K 61-3176 *18X6 R25 152*
LT 100-4457 *22X*
SV 61-190 *193, p 95 R25 132*
AT 65-181 4978 *R25 132*
V 100-7057 *22X*
SV 100-134289 *5 R25 132*

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

N 100-135 ant 53 *75 R25*
SV 61-524 *65 R25*
SV 100-3587 *73 R25*
SV 61-9182 *1X, 196 R25*
SV 61-6593 *8 R25*
N 100-7685 *26 R25*
SV 100-336021 *174 X4 R25*
SV 61-7582 *1380, p 265 R25*
SV 62-23170 *159, p 285 R25*
SV 100-135 ant 39 *31 R25*
SV 62-23170 *159, p 285 R25*
SV 49-401 *7204 213, p 15 R25*
V 100-236021 *X4*
SV 88-1027 *102*
SV 61-1213 49 *347 R25 132*
SV 100-135 ant 53 *R25 132*

Subj: William Pack P-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 20x

FILE NUMBER SERIALS

ST 100-135 74 334 R25
ST 100-135 aut A 9-30-40 R25 73V
ST 100-3-60 aut A 1-30-42 R25 73V
N 100-154105 1 R25
66-8700-435 44
N 100-135 aut 24 8 R25
N 100-122501 18 R25 73V
61-3176 ST ST 61, 42 R25
ST 100-6548 47 R25
ST 61-7582 (linecom) 1298 Agv. 311, 334
ST ST ST ST ST
351, 380, 428, 674
ST ST ST ST ST
276, 830, 984, 1145
ST ST ST ST ST
1207, 1212, 1237, 1347
ST ST ST ST ST
1357, 1372, 1643, 1651
L 61-190728 1978 R25 73V
100-10117 3 R25

Subj: William Pack P-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 20x

FILE NUMBER SERIALS

ST L 61-570 90 R25
ST 100-7046 120X R25
N CHAUGA 100-3-47- R25
100-13771 138 R25
ST 100-236644 2 R25 73V
N 100-352456 1 R25
SY 100-7046 120, 107 R25
ST 61-7559 73V R25
N 100-7058 64 R25
ST 100-7046 73V R25
ST 61-6593 73 R25
ST 61-6593 aut A 12-11-40 R25 73V
N 100-168327 8 R25
ST 100-11688 13 R25 73V
ST 100-1170 49 R25
ST 100-11688 13X R25 73V
ST 100-1221 1978 R25 73V

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

SL 61-7559 321X 732

N 100-135 sub 26 16 R25

N 100-135 sub 33 16 R25

N 62-23170 147, p 541 R25

SL 100-3587 #624 377 R25

SL 61-9182 NLO 33 R25

SL 100-864 #616 21 R25

SL 61-3963 SL 170x12, #63 732

NEOL 100-3-601 543, #15 R25

SL 61-7582 1202 R25

SL 100-135 71 732 R25

SL D.W. 9-29-48 75 732

SL 100-149163 sub 9

SL 61-3176 73 R25 732

N 66-1731 390

N 101-4326 14 R25

SL 121 4978 13

SL 100-148582

Subj: William Pickens F-19

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 11-6 Searcher Initial 204
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

202600-1778-667 39, 16

202600-57 123

61-23 37 R25

75-2581

202600-1628 121

101-3807 732

N 25-260298

Disc Com. Rpt Vol 3 732

Disc Com. Rpt Vol 4 2978 R25

732

19, 1930, #6

100-3 121 4978 R25

100-135-73 13191 R25

31-166

N 61-443 1226 R25

SAC, Washington Field

Director, FBI

June 7, 1948

①
WILLIAM PICKENS
Director, Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

In compliance with your request of June 1, 1948, there is enclosed
herewith three photostatic copies of various pages of issues of the Daily
Worker:

PAGE NUMBER:

1
1
1
1, 2
2
1
1, 2
5

DATE OF ISSUE:

4-16-31
4-24-31
10-2-33
10-3-33
2-8-39
11-17-39
12-2-40
12-19-40

G.I.R.-7

121 4978

2

JEM:yz

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
JUN 7 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

59 JUN 28 1948

RECORDED - 75

EX-20

45 JUN 14 1948

131-4978-2
FBI
D. L. J.

ENC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : S. J. TRACY *STW*
 FROM : D. M. LADD *Df* *5/5/48*
 SUBJECT: WILLIAM PICKENS
 Director, Interracial Section
 U. S. Savings Bonds Division
 Treasury Department
 New York, New York
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: April 29, 1948

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Please search the name of the above individual through the records of the Identification Division and forward the results, in duplicate, to the Foreign and Domestic Coordination Unit, Room 4519, Department of Justice Building, Washington, D. C.

The following identifying data are listed for your assistance:

Maiden name, if married: —

Date and place of birth: January 15, 1881, Anderson County, South Carolina

Department and Agency for whom employed: U. S. Treasury Department

Previous Government employment: —

Was case opened on Form 84 or Form 85: 84

If so, date form received: October 28, 1947

Other pertinent identifying data: (Including Military service numbers and Alien Registration numbers)

ENC. SS#: 068-07-3711

RER:CTB:cg

RW

121 497

ADDENDUM: 5-26-48 (j1) Based upon information furnished a record, FBI #6001677, is attached which may be identical with the above subject.

60 AUG 24 1948

100-4977-✓

60 AUG 24 1948

STW

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER

() Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Form T-1

The following is the record of FBI number

6002577

J. E. Hoover
Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
FD. Columbia, S. C.	William Pickens #22408	5-8-42	drunk	95.50 - 5 days
C.S. Conn. Wash., D. C.	William Pickens residence: 1714 1/2 Wheat, Columbia, S. C. born: 5-10-81	F. P. 12-1-43 Columbia, S. C.	position: porter Rationing Board, Richland County Columbia, S. C.	

121 4978

file by
5/1/44

ENCLOSURE

121-4978 ✓

* Represents notations unsupported by fingerprints in FBI files.

NOTICE: THIS RECORD IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 20-12100

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD
SUBJECT : WILLIAM PICKENS
Director, Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 26, 1948

Rebulet April 29, 1948.

The files of the Intelligence Unit, Treasury Department, reflect that investigation was conducted by that Unit during 1941 in New York City and Washington, D. C.

A photostatic copy of the report of Special Agent BERNARD V. PFEIFFER, Treasury Department, dated July 10, 1941 at New York, New York, is enclosed for any assistance it may be to New York in their investigation of this case.

CC: New York (REGISTERED - RETURN RECEIPT) (Encs.)

LEG:LAS
101-2190

121 4978

8

RECORDED - 52

11-21-4978-3
F B I

63 AUG 11 1948

EX-27

60 AUG 24 1948

5.73

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MAY 28, 1948

NEWARK URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, DIRECTOR, INTERRACIAL SECTION, US SAVINGS BONDS DIVISION, TREASURY DEPARTMENT, NY, NY, LGE. EMPLOYEE NOW SIXTY SEVEN YEARS OF AGE. FROM NINETEEN TWENTY TO NINETEEN FORTY TWO HE WAS FIELD SECRETARY AND LATER DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. EMPLOYED BY THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON, DC SINCE NINETEEN FORTY ONE. EMPLOYEE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF NUMEROUS COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AND WAS VICE CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM. NYC HATCH ACT FILE ON EMPLOYEE CONTAINS A SERIAL WITH INFORMATION ON EMPLOYEE; THE SOURCE OF THIS INFORMATION WAS LISTED AS

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THIS SERIAL MENTIONS THAT EMPLOYEE IS A PLEDGED COMMUNIST WORKING AMONG THE SOCIALISTS AND STATES HE REGULARLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES IN THE "DAILY WORKER." NO FURTHER INDICATION AS TO HOW THIS INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED OR OF THE RELIABILITY OF THIS INFORMATION. REQUEST A RECONTACT WITH E. V. CONRAD AND BUTEL THIS OFFICE ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION OBTAINED IN ADDITION TO SUBMITTING REPORT. BUDED MAY TWENTY NINTH NEXT.

SCHMIDT

CC: BUREAU ✓

LEC:EMP
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60 AUG 24 1948

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AUG 11 1948

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 28 1948
Com

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 46 28 4-25 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, LGE. J. B. MATTHEWS, FORMER CHIEF INVESTIGATOR OF DIES COMMITTEE IS NOW RESIDING IN NYC. WAS CHAIRMAN OF LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM AT TIME EMPLOYEE WAS VICE CHAIRMAN OF THAT ORGANIZATION. BUREAU AUTHORITY IS REQUESTED TO INTERVIEW MATTHEWS. SUTEL IF GRANTED. BUREAU IS ALSO ADVISED THAT TWO PERTINENT WITNESSES WILL BE UNAVAILABLE UNTIL APPROXIMATELY JUNE TWO NEXT. REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to:

URGENT

SAC, NEW YORK

JUNE 1, 1948

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, LOB. REURTEL MAY TWENTYEIGHT LAST. AUTHORIZATION
GRANTED TO INTERVIEW J. B. MATTHEWS, FORMER CHIEF INVESTIGATOR OF DIES COMMITTEE,
CONCERNING CAPTIONED EMPLOYEE.

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- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

John

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 8 1948

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W. H. Rhee
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Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Pennington.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....
AMZ

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BUREAU 13, AND NEW YORK 5, FROM NEWARK

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DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT.....

WILLIAM PICKENS, DIRECTOR, INTERRACIAL SECTION, U S SAVINGS BONDS
CIV., TREASURY DEPT. NEW YORK, NY. LGE. REURTEL TO NEWARK DATED
MAY TWENTYNINE LAST. E. V. CONRAD STATES NEVER HEARD OF WILLIAMS
PICKENS AND NEVER PREVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED BY FBI AGENTS. SUTEL THIS
OFFICE ANY ADDITIONAL INFO. REPORT BEING HELD. BUDED PAST.....

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Mr. Rocco
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WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK FROM WASH FIELD 3
DIRECTOR AND SAC

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URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY DEPT., LGE. UNLESS NEW YORK HAS ALREADY DONE SO,
SUGGESTED THAT OFFICE INTERVIEW J. B. MATTHEWS, THREE ONE ONE WEST FIFTY SIXTH
ST., NY, WHO FURNISHED DEROGATORY INFORMATION REFLECTED IN REPORT OF SA LOGAN
J. LANE DATED APRIL FOURTEEN, FORTY TWO, AT WASH., D. C., ENTITLED WILLIAM
H. PICKENS, INTERNAL SECURITY, HATCH ACT.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 11 1948

TELETYPE

Wall
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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

BUREAU 9, NEW YORK 3, FROM NEWARK
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

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1-07 AMZ

WILLIAM PICKENS, DIRECTOR, INTERRACIAL SECTION, US. SAVINGS BONDS DIVISION, TREASURY DEPT., NY, NY, LGE.. RE NY TEL TO NEWARK MAY TWENTYNINE TWENTYNINE LAST. E. V. CONRAD STATES NEVER HEARD OF WILLIAM PICKENS NEVER PREVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED BY FBI AGENTS. EVIDENTLY CASE OF MISIDENTITY IN NY FIELD. UNLESS ADVISED TO CONTRARY, NO REPORT BEING SUBMITTED. BUDED PAST. RUC.....

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AUG 25 1948

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

JUNE 8, 1948

WASHINGTON FIELD ROUTINE

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, LGE. REPORT OF SA LOGAN J. LAND DATED APRIL FOURTEENTH, NINETEEN FORTY TWO AT WASHINGTON IN CASE ENTITLED WILLIAM H. PICKENS, INTERNAL SECURITY DASH HATCH ACT, REFLECTS VARIOUS WRITINGS OF EMPLOYEE. ALL PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THESE WRITINGS AND OTHER WRITINGS REFLECTED IN READERS' GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE SHOULD BE REPORTED BY THE WFO. BUDED PAST.

SCHREIDT

CC: BUREAU

LEC:EMF
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6 AUG 11 1948

New York, N.Y.
June 8, 1948

NEWARK

URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, LGE. REURTEL JUNE THREE LAST. NO FURTHER
INFO AVAILABLE IN NYC FILE REGARDING INFORMATION PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED.

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NEW YORK CITY
June 9, 1948

CHICAGO - URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, DIRECTOR, INTERRACIAL SECTION, U. S. SAVINGS BONDS
DIVISION, TREASURY DEPT, NEW YORK, N. Y., LGE. RESULET APRIL TWENTY
NINTH LAST. EMPLOYEE SIXTY SEVEN YEARS OF AGE. FROM NINETEEN TWENTY
TO FORTY TWO HE WAS FIELD SECRETARY AND LATER DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES OF
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. EMPLOYED
BY TREASURY DEPT. IN WASHINGTON, D. C. SINCE NINETEEN FORTY ONE.
EMPLOYEE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF NUMEROUS COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS
AND FORMERLY WAS VICE CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND
FASCISM. INFORMATION RECEIVED THAT EMPLOYEE FORMERLY WROTE ARTICLES
FOR ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS WHICH WERE DISTRIBUTED TO VARIOUS NEGRO
NEWSPAPERS IN U. S. HEADQUARTERS OF ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS IN CHICAGO.
REQUEST APPROPRIATE CONTACT WITH AUTHORITIES THERE AND REVIEW AVAILABLE
WRITINGS RELEASED BY THAT PRESS. BUDED PAST.

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DATE 05-14-2008 BY UC 60322 LP/PJ/SZ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

Ggo FILE NO. 121-1289

REPORT MADE AT CHICAGO	DATE WHEN MADE 6/12/48	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/11/48	REPORT MADE BY EDWIN W. FLINT EWFL:LS
TITLE WILLIAM PICKENS, Director Inter-Racial Section, U.S. Savings Bonds Division, Treasury Department New York, New York			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS, editor, "Associated Negro Press," states he has known PICKENS for 13 years through PICKENS' activities in the NAACP. DAVIS states PICKENS is loyal American in his opinion. DAVIS states "Associated Negro Press" has only 3 articles written by PICKENS concerning a trip to Hawaii. Articles summarized. Information concerning FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS set forth.			
- R U C -			
REFERENCE: New York teletype to Chicago dated 6/9/48.			
2 DEPT OF JUSTICE FBI 121 4978 9			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT ⑥ - Bureau (AMSD) ② - Chicago 60 AUG 24 1948		121-4978-9 REC-7/16/48 63 AUG 11 1948 RECORDED - 52 INDEXED - 52 EX-27	

WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Inter-Racial Section
U.S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
June 12, 1948
Chicago, Illinois

III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS, Editor of the "Associated Negro Press," 3507 South Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, advised that he had held this position for the past thirteen years and that during that period of time he has been acquainted with WILLIAM PICKENS. He stated that PICKENS had become nationally known as a field representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and has been a frequent contributor of articles published by the "Associated Negro Press." He stated that during World War II PICKENS was a representative of the Treasury Department, Division of War Bond Purchases.

DAVIS stated that he would never question PICKENS' loyalty to the United States and has no information that PICKENS was ever a member of the Communist Party or any other organization, other than the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

DAVIS stated PICKENS was one of the persons who was most instrumental in developing Negro support for the war effort. He stated that PICKENS broke relations with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during World War II because of his praise of the Tuskegee Air Force School and Fort Huachuca, in Arizona, which camps practiced segregation of Negroes. DAVIS stated that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People bitterly opposed such segregation, but that PICKENS maintained that such action was necessary in winning the war, inasmuch as the war effort was the primary issue.

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DAVIS stated that it was not the practice of the "Associated Negro Press" to keep articles from its various contributors unless some future news value could be foreseen in the writings. He stated that there were only three columns available written by PICKENS, which pertained to a trip made by PICKENS to Hawaii in behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1936. These articles are: "Hawaii", by WILLIAM PICKENS, dated August 5, 1936; "Under the Banyan Tree", by WILLIAM PICKENS,

dated August 10, 1936; and "Military Morals in Hawaii", by WILLIAM PICKENS, date not shown. The above three articles dealt with PICKENS' observations on Hawaii during a visit there and relations between the Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiians and Negroes in that territory. The articles contained no information bearing on PICKENS' observation of the governmental policies in Hawaii or basing any criticism on the American type of administration there.

[] a reliable confidential informant, who will not furnish a signed statement and who will not appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board as a witness, advised that FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS, in May, 1945, was a member of the Dorie Miller Communist Political Association Club, District #8, Chicago, Illinois. The Communist Party, USA, formerly the Communist Political Association, is an organization which was declared by the Attorney General on November 24, 1947 as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

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Chicago T-1, a reliable confidential informant, who declined to furnish a signed statement and stated that he would not appear as a witness before a Loyalty Hearing Board, advised that FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS, 3558 Vincennes, Chicago, Illinois, a newspaper man, was a member of the 2d Ward Club, Communist Political Association, in 1945 and had been a member since November, 1944.

[] a reliable confidential informant, who declined to furnish a signed statement and said that he would not appear as a witness before a Loyalty Hearing Board, advised that FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS has been editor of the "Chicago Star" since it commenced publication in Chicago, Illinois on July 4, 1946. This informant stated that the "Chicago Star" is a weekly newspaper controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, District #8, Chicago, Illinois.

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Chicago File 121-1289

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

The offices of the "Associated Negro Press", 3507 South Park Avenue, were contacted by SAA [redacted] in an effort to review the writings of WILLIAM PICKENS. Agent [redacted] was referred to FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS of this organization as the person being able to furnish the desired information.

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Chicago File 121-1289

INFORMANT PAGE

Chicago T-1 is a search of the records at the headquarters of the CP, District #8, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois, on April 26, 1946 and May 22, 1945, by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]

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DECLASSIFIED ON 05-14-2008
ON 05-14-2008

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

This is the cover page of the report
on pages 185-188

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Inter-Racial Section
U.S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

Report of: **Special Agent**
Dated : **June 12, 1948 at**
Chicago, Illinois

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-14-2008 BY UC 60322 LP/PJ/SZ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 101-2190

REPORT MADE AT Washington, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 6/17/48	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/4, 7, 10, 12-15, 18, 22, 24-28, 6/1-5, 8/48	REPORT MADE BY [Redacted] vjr
TITLE WILLIAM PICKENS, Director, Interracial Section, U. S. Savings Bonds Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

WILLIAM PICKENS born 1/15/81, Anderson County, South Carolina. Education and employment history set out. Employed Treasury Department since 5/15/41. Investigation based on connection with N.F.C.L., A.I.C. and A.L.A.W. & F. Neighbors and fellow employees believe PICKENS to be loyal. T-2 states PICKENS was on Civil Rights Committee of S.C.H.W. in Washington during winter of 1947. Copies of hearing and other material contained in files of T-4 submitted. Copy of hearing conducted in personnel file enclosed. HCUA records reflect PICKENS to be associated with many organizations cited by HCUA and Attorney General. Copies of hearing afforded by HCUA submitted. Hatch Act statement of employee set out. Records of T-5 not pertinent. No credit record. Information from files of Special Investigations Squad, Metropolitan Police Department, set out.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated April 29, 1948.

EX-91

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
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2 Washington Field		EX-91
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Cover page of this report is FDPS pg 216. See this page for classification stamp

WFO #101-2190

WILLIAM PICKENS
Director, Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

June 17, 1948
Washington, D. C.

I. PERSONAL HISTORY

The personnel file of WILLIAM PICKENS at the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., and "Who's Who in America" for 1948-49 contain the following information concerning Mr. PICKENS:

He was born January 15, 1881, in Anderson County, South Carolina, the son of JACOB and FANNIE (PORTER) PICKENS. He graduated from the Union High School, Little Rock, Arkansas, as valedictorian of his class; he received an A.B. degree from Talladega College, Alabama, in 1902; an A.B. degree from Yale University in 1904; a diploma from the British Esperanto Association in 1906; an A.M. degree from Fisk University, Tennessee, in 1908; a Litt. D. degree from Selma University, Alabama, in 1915; and a LL. D degree from Wiley University, Marshall, Texas, in 1918.

He married MINNIE COOPER McALPINE, August 10, 1905, and they have the following children:



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He is a member of the Memorial American Negro Academy, Phi Beta Kappa (Yale), Phi Beta Kappa Association, Omega Psi Phi; is an ex-president of the Alabama State Teachers Association; is a member of the Masonic, Knights of Pythias and Odd Fellow Lodges; and is the author of the following named books:

Abraham Lincoln, Man and Statesman, 1909;
The Hair of Slaves, 1910 (autobiography);
Frederick Douglass and the Spirit of Freedom, 1912;
Fifty Years of Emancipation, 1913;
The Ultimate Effects of Segregation and Discrimination, 1915;
The New Negro, 1916 (a collection of essays);
The Negro in the Light of the Great War, three editions, 1919;
The Vengeance of the Gods, 1921, (a collection of short stories);

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WFO #101-2190

Bursting Bonds, 1923 (autobiography);
American Aesop, 1926 (A collection of after-dinner stories).

PICKENS visited Europe in 1913, 1926-1927, 1929, 1932 and 1938. He lectured in England, Scotland, Germany, Poland and Russia in 1926-1927; lectured in Geneva, Vienna and Germany in 1932.

"Who's Who in America" for 1948-1949 and the personnel file of the employee at the Treasury Department contains the following information concerning his employment history:

From 1904 to 1914 he was a Language Professor at Talladega College; in 1914 and 1915 he was Professor of Greek and Sociology at Wiley University; from 1915 to 1918 he was Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland; and from 1918 to 1920 he was Vice President of the latter institution. From 1920 to 1941 he was Field Secretary and Director of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On May 15, 1941, he entered on duty as a Principal Defense Securities Promotion Specialist, Defense Savings Staff, Office of the Secretary, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C. He has been employed by the Treasury Department since that time and at present his Civil Service Classification is Information and Editorial Specialist (General); however, he is the Director of the Interracial Section, U. S. Savings Bonds Division, Treasury Department, with headquarters at Washington, D. C., and in that capacity exercises supervision over one office employee and all the volunteer workers in the field. The above-mentioned sources reflect that he was a Forum Leader of Federal Forum Projects, Department of Interior, part time during 1937 and 1938. He is also a contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press of the United States. Mr. PICKENS resides at 400 T Street, NW, Washington, D. C., and also maintains a residence at 260 West 199th Street, New York, New York.

II. BASIS FOR THE INVESTIGATION

On December 19, 1940, the Daily Worker, an East Coast Communist Newspaper, carried an article devoted to an appeal to Governor OLSON of California to dismiss charges against SAM ADAMS/PARCY, described in the article as a Communist leader. This appeal appeared on Page 5 of the Daily Worker of that date and was said to have been sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. One of the signers of this appeal was WILLIAM PICKENS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, New York. Photostatic copies of this article are enclosed with this report as Exhibit A. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been declared by the Attorney General of the United States to be an organization which comes within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Washington T-1, a reliable informant who declined to furnish a signed statement or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board, advised that at the convention of the American Youth Congress held in New York from July 1 to July 5, 1939, WILLIAM PICKENS of the National Association for the Ad-

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WFO #101-2190

vancement of Colored People was an adult consultant at a panel discussion on the subject of "interfaith and interracial understanding". The American Youth Congress has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

According to a book entitled "The Odyssey of a Fellow-Traveler" written by J. B. MATTHEWS, former chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, WILLIAM PICKENS was one of the Vice Chairmen of that organization. The American League Against War and Fascism has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Washington T-1 has no further information to offer concerning the employee.

Mr. LAURENCE M. OLNEY, Field Director and Associate National Director of the United States Savings Bond Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., advised that he has known the employee very well since 1941. Mr. OLNEY stated that he was aware of the fact that Mr. PICKENS had been involved in some difficulty because of alleged affiliation with certain organizations, the names of which Mr. OLNEY did not know, however, Mr. OLNEY stated that as far as he is concerned, he has seen nothing whatever which would indicate disloyalty on the part of Mr. PICKENS. Mr. OLNEY stated that he has had many discussions with the employee, has heard him speak, and has reviewed material which has been submitted by the employee in connection with his speech making activities, and during all this time he has had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the employee. Mr. OLNEY went on to say that Mr. PICKENS' work requires him to go into the South quite frequently and deliver speeches in that section of the country and that he has received nothing but favorable comment concerning Mr. PICKENS' activities along that line. Mr. OLNEY concluded by reiterating that there is no question in his mind concerning the loyalty of Mr. PICKENS to the Government of the United States.

Mr. HAROLD B. MASTER, Director of Special Field Activities, U. S. Savings Bond Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., stated that he has known the employee since the latter became employed by the Treasury Department and has been very closely associated with him since 1946. Mr. MASTER stated that the employee is very cautious about his associations and seems to be solely interested in the advancement of his race. Mr. MASTER described Mr. PICKENS as being loyal, sincere and straightforward. He stated that to his knowledge, the only organizations with which Mr. PICKENS is associated are the Negro YMCA and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stated that to his knowledge, Mr. PICKENS is not a member of, or affiliated with, any organizations about which there

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could be any question. Mr. MASTER stated that Mr. PICKENS works directly under him, and he has never observed Mr. PICKENS become involved in any controversial issues whatsoever. Mr. MASTER concluded by saying that in his opinion, Mr. PICKENS is entirely loyal to the United States.

Miss JHANITA M. JONES, Personnel Director, U. S. Savings Bond Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., advised that she has been the Personnel Director of this Division during the time Mr. PICKENS has been employed by the Treasury Department. She stated that she has not heard him make any statements which could be construed as disloyal and has never observed any actions on his part which would indicate that he was anything but a loyal citizen of this country. She stated that he is in charge of the whole Negro bond program of the Treasury Department and in that capacity has performed his work in a highly satisfactory manner.

Mr. M. L. HARNKY, Acting Chief Coordinator, Treasury Department Enforcement Agencies, Washington, D. C., advised that he became quite well acquainted with the employee during the time that the Committee on un-American Activities of the House of Representatives had accused Mr. PICKENS of being associated with numerous Communist front organizations. Mr. HARNKY stated that he had occasion to discuss this situation with Mr. PICKENS several times and that he had concluded that Mr. PICKENS, as an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had become involved with these organizations because of his desire to further the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. HARNKY went on to say that in his opinion, all of the activities of the employee in this regard were the result of his desire to promote the advancement of his race and that he welcomed any and all opportunities to present the program of the NAACP wherever and whenever he was allowed to speak. He stated that as a result of the discussions which he has had with Mr. PICKENS, he is of the opinion that the employee considers that the advancement of the negro race must come about by the process of evolution and will never be secured by any revolutionary activities. Mr. HARNKY stated that although he was aware of Mr. PICKENS' association with numerous organizations which had been cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities, he was of the opinion that Mr. PICKENS is a person who is absolutely loyal and patriotic.

Mr. and Mrs. CLARENCE A. BRADFORD, 1203 Canyon Street, NW, Washington, D. C., retired Post Office employee and retired public school teacher, respectively, stated that they have known Mr. PICKENS for the past twenty or twenty-five years and that when he came to Washington to work for the Treasury Department, he occupied a room in their home for approximately two years. They both were emphatic in their belief that Mr. PICKENS is absolutely loyal to the United States Government and stated that he has never

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WFO #101-2190

exhibited any tendencies whatever which could be construed as reflecting unfavorably upon his loyalty. They both advised that they know of no organizations of which Mr. PICKENS is a member except the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They said that during the time he has been working for the Treasury Department, he has been engaged solely in selling war and savings bonds for the United States Government and that they know of no one who could be considered more loyal and patriotic to the United States.

Mr. E. HAYWARD HORD, 400 T Street, NW, Washington, D. C., who is captain of the third floor dining room, Harvey's Restaurant, stated that he has known Mr. PICKENS since the latter has resided at 400 T Street, NW. He stated that due to the fact that Mr. PICKENS' work takes him out of town a great deal and the irregular hours of his, Mr. HORD'S, employment, he has had very little opportunity to become well acquainted with Dr. PICKENS, however, he has observed and heard of nothing which would reflect unfavorably upon his loyalty to this country.

Rev. ROBERT A. MCGAHA, 403 T Street, NW, a retired Treasury Department employee, advised that he is not well acquainted with the employee but is aware that he is connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stated that he has seen and heard of nothing which would raise any question in his mind concerning the loyalty of Mr. PICKENS.

Mr. A. H. BROWN, JR., photographer, 405 T Street, NW, Washington, D. C., advised that he has known Dr. PICKENS for the past twenty or twenty-five years. He stated that he knows of no organizations of which Dr. PICKENS is a member except the NAACP and that during all the time he has known Dr. PICKENS, there has been no question in his mind concerning his loyalty.

Rev. GEORGE O. BULLOCK, 406 T Street, NW, Washington, D. C., has known of Dr. PICKENS for twenty years and has known him personally for the past six years. Rev. BULLOCK stated that he has heard Dr. PICKENS address many groups and has never heard him express any ideas which could be construed as disloyal. Rev. BULLOCK stated that in his opinion, there could be no question concerning the loyalty of employee.

Washington T-2, a Communist Party member who, over a long period of time, has furnished reliable information, advised that during the winter of 1947 Dean PICKENS was a member of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at a meeting held at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, Washington, D. C. It should be noted that employee's personnel file at the Treasury Department contains references to him as "Dean" PICKENS. A photograph of the employee, which appeared in the Daily Worker on February 9, 1943, was exhibited to Washington T-2 who identified him as the Dean PICKENS who was a member of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives,

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in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front organization. Washington T-2 stated that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Washington, D. C., is thoroughly infiltrated by the Communist Party and that the Communist Party controls it to a considerable extent.

Washington T-3, a member of the Communist Party who has furnished reliable information over a long period of time, advised that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Washington is dominated by the Communist Party; that its functionaries are advised by, and generally follow the advice and direction of, the Communist Party leaders, and that most members of the White Collar group of the Communist Party are active members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and tend to control its policies because they are active in meetings.

Both T-2 and T-3 declined to furnish signed statements or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

The files of the Passport Division, State Department, reflect the following information concerning the employee:

He was first issued a passport by the State Department on January 28, 1913. On September 9, 1926, Passport No. 284747 was issued to WILLIAM PICKENS for a proposed six-month trip to all countries for travel and education. In his application for this passport, Mr. PICKENS stated that he had taken a three month tour of Europe during the summer of 1913. In November, 1927, Mr. PICKENS inquired of the State Department as to whether he would need a new passport for an intended trip abroad and was advised that his 1926 passport was valid until September 9, 1928. On March 19, 1929, passport #686521 was issued to Mr. PICKENS for a proposed two-month trip to France and Germany and perhaps England and Switzerland for study. This passport was renewed at New York City on June 1, 1932, for an additional two years inasmuch as Mr. PICKENS intended to travel to France for a visit. Passport No. 576934 was issued to WILLIAM PICKENS on February 20, 1933, for a proposed two month trip to England, France, Switzerland, Austria, etc. for the purpose of going on a tour and for educational work. Passport No. 561-168 was issued to the employee on June 27, 1938, for his proposed two-month trip to France, England, Switzerland for a tour and rest.

By letter dated August 3, 1938, OSCAR FISHTEN, Personnel Manager, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381-4th Avenue, New York City, advised the State Department that Mr. PICKENS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had been authorized by that Committee to make a brief study of the work of the Committee's organization in Spain and requested that the passport of Mr. PICKENS be amended to be valid for travel to Spain. At that time the State

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Department replied that it was too late to amend the passport. By letter dated August 13, 1938, HERMAN F. REISSIG, Executive Secretary of the above mentioned committee, advised that Mr. PICKENS had intimate connections with their work and further stated that the Negro Committee to Aid Spain was planning a conference to consider ways and means of increasing support of American relief work in Spain and that the committee had delegated Mr. PICKENS the task of making a first-hand report on the needs in Spain. The State Department then authorized the American Embassy at Paris, France, to validate the passport of Mr. PICKENS for travel to Spain as a relief worker.

The files of Washington T-4, a Government Agency which conducts personnel and intelligence investigations, contained copies of articles written by the employee. Photostatic copies of those pertaining to his foreign travel are enclosed with this report as Exhibits B, C, D and E.

The files of T-4, mentioned above, also contained a copy of a statement, "I Am Not, Never Have Been, and Never Can Be a Communist", prepared by WILLIAM PICKENS and dated February, 1943. Photostatic copies of this article are enclosed with this report as Exhibit F.

The "report" referred to on Page 2 of Exhibit F concerning his trip to Frankfurt, Germany, is Exhibit D mentioned above as being enclosed with this report. On Page 3 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to an editorial entitled, "Communist Aid Deplored". Photostatic copies of this article are being enclosed as Exhibit F-0. On Page 4 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to an article entitled, "I.L.D. Tells 2,000 Mile Lie". Photostatic copies of this article are being enclosed as Exhibit F-1. On Page 7 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to an article entitled, "The Fight Against Fascism". Photostatic copies of this article are enclosed as Exhibit B mentioned above.

The next article referred to by Mr. PICKENS on Page 7 of Exhibit F is entitled, "The American Negroes Interest is Anti-Fascism". Photostatic copies of this article are enclosed as Exhibit F-2.

On Pages 10 and 11 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to the following named articles and editorials:

"I Am an American; One Year of the Second World War; British Battles for Civilization; God Save America; Again the American Youth Congress; The War - Great Britain and France; That Lend-Lease-Give Bill; The President Makes a Great Speech Against Italy's Jump into the War; Short of War - What? But the Southerners in Congress are For It; If we Don't Have War; Peace, Peace to the Peace Societies".

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Photostatic copies of the above listed material are being enclosed as Exhibits F-3 through F-14.

On Page 11 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to his article on Trotsky's murder. Photostatic copies of this article are enclosed as Exhibit F-15. A Photostatic copy of his article, entitled, "Senses Against Wishes", referred to on Page 11 of Exhibit F are enclosed as Exhibit F-16.

In the penultimate paragraph on Page 12 of Exhibit F Mr. PICKENS refers to papers showing that the "intercircle" of the organization for which he worked had accused him of "being too loyal to my country" and "let me out for that extreme". A Photostatic copy of these papers entitled, "Fort Huachuca and 99th Pursuit Squadron", are enclosed as Exhibit F-17.

The files of T-4 also contained copies of two other articles written by the employee entitled, "Anti-Alien and Anti-Minority Legislation" and "A Useless and Excuseless Right". Photostatic copies of these articles are enclosed as Exhibits G and H, respectively. OK

The files of T-4 also contain a copy of a hearing which was afforded the employee. This hearing, of which photostatic copies are being enclosed with this report as Exhibit I, is dated February 4, 1943.

The personnel file of the employee reflects that he was afforded a hearing, photostatic copies of which are enclosed as Exhibit J.

In the report of the hearings of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, Second Session, Appendix IX, the following information concerning the employee is to be found:

On Page 311 is a reprint of a letterhead dated April 11, 1928, reflecting that WILLIAM PICKENS was a member of the National Committee of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. According to the records of this Committee, this organization functioned from 1925 to 1933 and was supplanted by the American League Against War and Fascism. Contained in the files of this Committee is a photostatic copy of a report of the Central Executive Committee to the Fourth National Conference of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held in Chicago, August 21 to August 30, 1925, which contains a statement that the Workers Party of America has made anti-imperialist work one of its basic activities, the most important step in this connection being the successful organization of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League; that the Workers Party was largely instrumental in the establishment of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League which was endorsed by the Comintern and the Profintern.

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The All-America Anti-Imperialist League was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1944, as a Communist front organization. The American League Against War and Fascism has been declared by the Attorney General to be an organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

On Page 351 appears an undated letterhead listing WILLIAM PICKENS, NAACP, as a sponsor of "National 'Americans All' Week", October 21-28, 1941, held under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

On Page 381 appears a reprint of a letterhead dated February 21, 1938, which reflects WILLIAM PICKENS to be a member of the "American Friends of Spanish Democracy" committee. The American Friends of Spanish Democracy was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1944, as a Communist front organization.

On Page 1643 there appears information from the "Labor Defender" of October, 1935, Page 9, in which WILLIAM PICKENS of New York is listed as a signer of a petition for the freedom of ANGELO HERNDON who is described as a "Negro Communist" on Page 1642 of Appendix IX. The HERNDON Petition Committee is described as an adjunct of the International Labor Defense. The International Labor Defense has been declared to be an organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General of the United States.

On Page 984 of Appendix IX, WILLIAM PICKENS, New York, is listed as a member of the Advisory Committee of the League for Mutual Aid. The League for Mutual Aid was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

On Page 1210 of this Volume there appears a reprint of Volume 1, No. 4, legislative letter of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. This letter reflects WILLIAM PICKENS as a member of the Board of Sponsors and is dated February 15, 1940. The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1942, and March 29, 1944, as a Communist front organization.

On Page 1347 there appears information reflecting that in the "Daily Worker" for February 8, 1939, Page 2, WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP is listed as a signer of a letter circulated by the Negro Peoples' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy urging Congress, the State Department and the President to lift the embargo against Spain. The Negro Peoples' Committee to Aid Spanish

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Democracy was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1944, as a Communist front organization. A Photostatic copy of Page 2 of the Daily Worker for February 8, 1939, are enclosed as Exhibit K.

Page 1372 of this volume contains a reprint of an undated letterhead of the New York Tom Mooney Committee in which WILLIAM PICKENS is listed as a sponsor of that committee. The New York Tom Mooney Committee was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

In the report of hearings of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, First Session, Appendix V, there appears on Page 1678 information reflecting that in the Daily Worker for November 17, 1939, WILLIAM PICKENS, NAACP leader, spoke at a banquet - reception held in honor of JACQUES ROUMAIN, "noted Haitian poet and writer", at the 137th Street YMCA. This banquet - reception was said to be held under the auspices of the League of American Writers (New York Chapter). A Photostatic copy of Page 2 of the Daily Worker for November 17, 1939, are being enclosed with this report as Exhibit L. The League of American Writers has been declared by the Attorney General to be an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

On Page 48 of Report 1311 of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, dated March 29, 1944, WILLIAM PICKENS is listed as National Vice Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The records of Washington T-4 contain a written statement of WILLIAM PICKENS entitled, "Actual Contacts", which was prepared by Mr. PICKENS in reply to the information in the possession of the House Committee on un-American Activities concerning the organizations with which he was connected. A Photostatic copy of this statement are being enclosed as Exhibit M.

On April 2, 1943, WILLIAM PICKENS was afforded a hearing by the sub-committee of the special committee to investigate un-American activities and photostatic copies of this hearing are enclosed as Exhibit N.

On Page 3326 of the above mentioned hearing it is noted that there is listed a letter from WILLIAM PICKENS to the editor of the Republican marked "PICKENS Exhibit 1". A photostatic copy of this letter to the editor entitled, "Communist Aid Deplored", by WILLIAM PICKENS, Field Secretary, NAACP, dated November 18, 1933, is contained in the file of exhibits maintained by the House Committee on un-American Activities. A photostatic copy of this article has been enclosed with this report as Exhibit F-0.

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On Page 3337 of the above mentioned hearing is a notation concerning "PICKENS Exhibit 2". "PICKENS Exhibit 2", which is contained in the file of exhibits maintained by the House Committee on un-American Activities, is a copy of the article written by Mr. PICKENS entitled, "I Am Not, Never Have Been, and Never Can be a Communist", which was previously mentioned in this report and is enclosed with this report as Exhibit F.

On Page 3338 of this hearing are listed the remaining exhibits which are maintained in the files of the House Committee on un-American Activities. These exhibits, i.e., "PICKENS Exhibit 3" through "PICKENS Exhibit 26" are described as follows:

"PICKENS Exhibit 3" contains a photostat of an article appearing on Page 8 of the New York Herald Tribune of April 27, 1927, reflecting that EARL BROWDER, American Communist editor, sent a plea for justice to WILLIAM PICKENS of the Hands Off China Association. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Page 1024 of the International Press Correspondence of September 1, 1928, in which JAY LOVESTONE, reporting to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, refers to "our hands off China campaign". This exhibit also contained a photostatic copy of Page 5 of the Daily Worker for March 17, 1927, in which it is reported that WILLIAM PICKENS was chosen Temporary Chairman of the Hands Off China Conference held on March 16, 1927, and that he was later made permanent chairman. This article reflects that PICKENS told the conference how, when in Russia recently, he met twenty-five Chinese Generals who told him of the fight of China against foreign exploitation. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Page 3 of the Daily Worker for May 9, 1927, in which WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP is listed as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Hands Off China Committee.

"PICKENS Exhibit 4" contains a photostatic copy of Page 3 of the Daily Worker for March 26, 1927, in which a Hands Off China meeting was announced to be held in Philadelphia on Sunday. This article reflected that ALEX BAIL of the Workers (Communist) Party was to preside at this meeting and listed among the speakers was WILLIAM PICKENS, Field Secretary of the NAACP. This exhibit also contains photostatic copies of Pages 1 and 5 of the Daily Worker for March 31, 1926, in which an article appeared describing the parade held in Philadelphia on Sunday to fight the intervention in China. The last speaker at this meeting was said to have been WILLIAM PICKENS, Field Secretary of the NAACP, who was said to have spoken of the "growing restiveness of the oppressed colonial peoples of the world and their growing determination to throw off the yoke of world imperialism". ALEX BAIL, described above, was chairman of this demonstration and another speaker was IRVING GREEN of the Young Workers Communist League.

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"PICKENS Exhibit 5" contains a copy of a letterhead reflecting WILLIAM PICKENS to be a member of the National Committee of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of a report of the Central Executive Committee to the Fourth International Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held in Chicago from August 21 to August 30, 1925. This report contains a statement that the Workers Party of America has made Anti-Imperialist work one of its basic activities, the most important step in this connection being the successful organization of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League; and that the Workers Party was largely instrumental in the establishment of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League which was endorsed by the Comintern and the Profintern.

"PICKENS Exhibit 6" is a letterhead dated February 18, 1929, showing WILLIAM PICKENS to be a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense. As reflected elsewhere in this report, the International Labor Defense has been declared to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

"PICKENS Exhibit 7" is a photostatic copy of Page 2 of the Daily Worker for July 30, 1929, on which appears an article describing the Wednesday session of the World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held on July 28, 1929, at Frankfurt-Am-Main, Germany. Professor PICKENS, one of the speakers, was said to have stated that "many workers act as tools for oppressing the negroes who believe that the workers are their oppressors and fail to recognize that their real oppressor is the Capitalist".

"PICKENS Exhibit 8" contains a photostatic copy of Page 1 of the Daily Worker of April 24, 1931, on which is printed a letter written by WILLIAM PICKENS on the letterhead of the NAACP which is dated April 19, 1931, and addressed to "Dear Daily Worker". A Photostatic copy of Page 1 of this issue of the Daily Worker ~~is~~ being enclosed with this report as Exhibit O. Photostatic copies of Page 1 of the Daily Worker for April 16, 1931, which is referred to by Mr. PICKENS in his letter to the Daily Worker, are being enclosed with this report as Exhibit P.

"PICKENS Exhibit 9" contains a copy of the publication entitled, "Labor Defender" for July, 1931, in which WILLIAM PICKENS is listed as a member of the Committee of the Prisoners Relief Fund organized under the auspices of the International Labor Defense to help political prisoners and their dependents.

"PICKENS Exhibit 9-A" contains a photostatic copy of a letterhead dated November 1, 1933, showing that WILLIAM PICKENS, contributing editor, Associated Negro Press, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of the National Organizing Committee of the U. S. Congress Against War. The U. S. Congress Against War was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

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According to the records of the House Committee on un-American Activities, the Arrangements Committee of which Mr. PICKENS was a member is the Committee which planned and carried out the founding of the American League Against War and Fascism, which organization has been declared by the Attorney General of the United States to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

"PICKENS Exhibit 10" contains a photostatic copy of a flyer announcing the Mass Reception Opening Session of the United States Congress Against War to be held on Friday, September 29. This flyer lists WILLIAM PICKENS as one of the speakers. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Page 1 of the Daily Worker dated October 2, 1933, concerning the Anti-War Congress. A Photostatic copies of this page of the Daily Worker ~~was~~ being enclosed with this report as Exhibit Q.

"PICKENS Exhibit 11" contains a photostatic copy of the Manifesto and Program of the American League Against War and Fascism which was adopted at the U. S. Congress Against War in New York City which was held from September 29, 1933, to October 1, 1933. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Page 2 of the Daily Worker dated October 3, 1933, which carries an announcement of the adoption of the above-mentioned Manifesto by the Anti-War Congress. WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP is listed among the National Committee members of this organization. Photostatic copies of Pages 1 and 2 of the Daily Worker, dated October 3, 1933, are enclosed with this report as Exhibit R.

"PICKENS Exhibit 12" is a photostatic copy of a page of the magazine entitled "FIGHT Against War and Fascism" published monthly by the American League Against War and Fascism, 104-5th Avenue, New York, New York. This page reflects the chairman of this organization to be J. B. MATTHEWS and the Vice Chairman to be WILLIAM PICKENS and EARL BROWDER.

"PICKENS Exhibit 13" contains a letterhead dated November 18, 1936, reflecting WILLIAM PICKENS to be a member of the Committee of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy. The American Friends of Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

"PICKENS Exhibit 14" contains a photostatic copy of an announcement dated September 27, 1938, of a mass meeting sponsored by the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to be held in Madison Square Garden on October 5. WILLIAM PICKENS, NAACP Director, is listed as one of the speakers. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front organization

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by the House Committee on un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

"PICKENS Exhibit 15" contains a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy dated November 16, 1938, showing WILLIAM PICKENS as a sponsor. The records of the House Committee on un-American Activities reflect that this Conference on Pan-American Democracy was also known as the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The Conference on Pan-American Democracy was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities on June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944. The Council for Pan-American Democracy has been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

"PICKENS Exhibit 16" contains a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. which was signed by EARL BROWDER, General Secretary, in which he announces that the editors of "New Masses" magazine have offered "our Party members" a bargain introductory subscription to "New Masses" for a limited period ending September 15, 1939. In this letter BROWDER states that WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP was one of the contributing writers to this magazine. "New Masses" was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on un-American Activities on June 24, 1942, and March 29, 1944. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Pages 11 and 12 of "New Masses" dated March 30, 1939, which are devoted to an article by WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP entitled, "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist". This is the article referred to by Mr. PICKENS on Page 7 of Exhibit F and photostatic copies of which are enclosed as Exhibit F-2.

"PICKENS Exhibit 17" is a photostatic copy of Page 31 of "New Masses" dated November 14, 1939, which carries an announcement of a lecture by WILLIAM PICKENS, Director of Branches, NAACP, on the subject, "The Negro Fights Anti-Semitism", which was given at the Workers School, Room 205, 35 East 12th Street, New York, New York, on November 10.

"PICKENS Exhibit 18" is a photostatic copy of a letterhead dated November 5, 1940, of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign showing WILLIAM PICKENS to be a sponsor. The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities as a Communist front organization on January 3, 1940.

"PICKENS Exhibit 19" is a program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights dated February 12, 1940, which reflects WILLIAM PICKENS to be a sponsor. The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights was cited by the House Committee on un-

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American Activities as a Communist front organization on March 29, 1944.

"PICKENS Exhibit 20" contains a letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which describes the annual conference of this committee held March 2 and 3, 1940, at the Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C. This letterhead lists WILLIAM PICKENS as a sponsor of this organization. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been declared by the Attorney General of the United States to be an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

"PICKENS Exhibit 21" contains a copy of Page 21 of "New Masses" for April 2, 1942, in which WILLIAM PICKENS, Director, NAACP, is listed as a signer of a petition which states in part that "the recent raid, without warrant, on the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the abortive indictments in Detroit for recruiting for Loyalist Spain, the badgering of Communist leaders, the attacks by the Dies Committee on consumer and labor groups, all are part of the rapidly accumulating evidence of a tendency to pervert the spirit while pretending to adhere to the letter of the Bill of Rights" and urges President Roosevelt to exert his influence to end the attack on the freedom of the press.

"PICKENS Exhibit 22" contains a four-page announcement of a citizens' rally to answer the attack on public education sponsored by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom which was held at Carnegie Hall, April 13, 1940. WILLIAM PICKENS was listed as a sponsor of this meeting. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities as a Communist front organization on June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

"PICKENS Exhibit 23" contains a photostatic copy of Page 30 of "New Masses" magazine dated December 3, 1940, which carries an announcement of a public rally to be held under the auspices of the New York Chapter, United American Spanish Aid Committee, to be held December 11 at Manhattan Center. WILLIAM PICKENS, Director of the NAACP, is listed as one of the speakers. The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities as a Communist front organization on March 29, 1944.

"PICKENS Exhibit 24" contains a photostatic copy of Pages 1 and 2 of the Daily Worker dated December 2, 1940. This issue carries an article by ART SHIELDS concerning a meeting at the Manhattan Center on December 11, 1940, which was said to have been called by the American Rescue Ship Mission. Photostatic copies of Pages 1 and 2 of this issue of the Daily Worker are enclosed as Exhibit 3.

"PICKENS Exhibit 25" contains a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Council for Pan-American Democracy dated July 18, 1940, showing WILLIAM PICKENS to be a member of the Executive Committee. This exhibit also contains a photostatic copy of Page 28 of the magazine "New Masses" which is dated

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December 3, 1940, which carries an advertisement entitled, "Save LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES, an Open Letter to the President of Brazil". WILLIAM PICKENS, Director of Branches, NAACP, is listed among the signers of this letter, and this advertisement was shown to be that of the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The Council for Pan-American Democracy has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

"PICKENS Exhibit 26" contains a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker for December 19, 1940, showing WILLIAM PICKENS of the NAACP, New York City, to be a signer of an appeal to Governor OLSON of California to dismiss the charges against [redacted] Communist leader. This article has been referred to previously in this report and photostatic copies of this article have been enclosed as Exhibit A.

On March 23, 1942, WILLIAM PICKENS was interviewed in the office of the Washington Field Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation. The results of this interview are set out as follows:

Statement of WILLIAM PICKENS made in
the presence of Special Agent [redacted]
[redacted] and stenographer [redacted]
[redacted] of the Federal Bureau of In-
vestigation.

b6
b7C

Questions by Agent [redacted]

- Q. Mr. PICKENS, we have asked your voluntary appearance here today, not for the purpose of conducting a hearing, but to give you an opportunity to answer any questions that may be asked of you and to make any statement you deem pertinent in regard to the investigation currently being made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you no doubt are aware, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been empowered by the 77th Congress of the United States, under Public Law 135, to investigate the employees of the Federal Government who are alleged to be members of subversive organizations or who advocate an overthrow of this form of Government.
- A. I knew that you were investigating, of course I don't know just what specifically.
- Q. Under the provisions of the Law, we are required to make a report of our investigation to Congress. Now as I have indicated, you can decline to answer any of the questions.
- A. There surely won't be any I will decline to answer. 75

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- Q. A copy of the report of this investigation, which will include your answers and your statement, will be made available to the agency by whom you are presently employed.
- A. Of course.
- Q. I might mention also that after the interview has been transcribed and typed, you will be given an opportunity to read it for such changes as you might wish to make.
- A. Surely.
- Q. Now in order that the statements made by you may have particular credence, you will be placed under oath, if you have no objection.
- A. None whatsoever.
- Q. If you will raise your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear that the statements you are about to make will be made without mental reservation, and will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?
- A. I do.
- Q. Will you state your full name?
- A. WILLIAM PICKENS.
- Q. And where are you employed?
- A. United States Treasury, Defense Savings Stamps. Mr. HOUGHTLING is head of my Division, Mr. GRAVES is his superior.
- Q. In what capacity are you employed?
- A. Well, they call me Promotion Specialist. I am in the Defense Savings Stamps.
- Q. How long have you been so employed?
- A. Since the fifteenth of May, 1941.
- Q. What is your present home address?
- A. My residence for the last 22 years has been 260 West 139th Street, New York, but my residence in Washington is 400 T Street, NW. I still live there, it is my voting place. I still have a house there.

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Q. Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Never in my life, I just couldn't, with nothing particularly except I couldn't, it don't suit me, that's all. I have been around it but I have never been a member and never could.

Q. Have you ever attended any meetings of the Communist Party?

A. Well, in a way I suppose so on Union Square looking at them, and once I was a member of what they call the International Labor Defense, non-partisan it was supposed to be. I was a person they invited to be a member but they pretty soon dropped. I was still a registered Democrat, but once I was in there in a way. I found out they were Communist dominated and I dropped out. They were calling it and advertised it as a non-partisan for helping poor laboring people in defense. I went to a meeting to the Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany. Germany is my second home next to the United States. I had many friends there and in the United States. They invited me to come and speak and after I got there MAXTON of England was there and a man from Russia. It was an Anti-Imperialist meeting. That was back in 1929 or 1927 or along there.

Q. Have you contributed money or personal services in the interest of the Communist Party?

A. In the interest of the Communist Party, no, nothing, because you see they have been fighting me for years. Have you heard of the Scottsboro case? You know the position I took in that case. They were always nice to me because they hoped to use people on the outside, the underdog is always interested in it. They really worked for the boys; they raised and spent some \$250,000. When the International Labor Defense took up the fight for those boys I sent \$3.00 for the fight for the Scottsboro Boys, and pretty soon after that I saw the way there were going. But that was not toward Communists or the Communist Party or any party. It was to fight for those Scottsboro Boys. I have never contributed to that party.

Q. To your knowledge, have you ever received any literature published by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I suppose they send it, I think. What is that organization on 14th Street, the Workers Union? Occasionally I get — they send it to everybody I suppose. You know they have a lot of allied organizations. I don't think they had enough nerve to ask me to join the Communist Party, but they knew that I was free and liberal minded, but they never asked me to join. In fact, I don't

WFO #101-2190

think they thought I would fit. I knew they wouldn't suit me.

Q. Are you a member or have you ever been a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

A. I don't think I have, I don't remember. Sometimes you join — but the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, no, I don't think I have ever been a member. Sometimes they send you some pamphlets, but that is not membership. I have never been a member and I have seen the name, because I recall it when you say it, but I don't know anything about it.

Q. Have you contributed any money or personal services in the interest of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

A. Not to my knowledge. They could put one over on me in some indirect way.

Q. Have you ever received any literature from that organization?

A. I don't recall it. I have gotten piles of stuff for twenty-five years, but I don't know, if I did, it didn't impress me, I didn't read it.

Q. Mr. PICKENS, are you a member or have you ever been a member of the National Negro Congress?

A. No, I don't think I have ever been a member of that because I tell you I know it is a strange thing in me; our organization was joined up and started out with ROY WILKINS when the Negro Congress was being organized at the first meeting in Chicago. They got out a lot of expensive literature — the Communists were paying JOHN DAVIS to get out this literature and it all came out afterwards, I think; they all agreed the Communists were sending out and paying for this literature. It was Communist promoted. GEORGE MURPHY was working there and JOHN DAVIS, the man who is the head of it. Frankly, I have never had any confidence in him, in his honesty and morals, and this thing of hooking up with the Communists — I think he is trying to hoodwink them. PHILIP RANDOLPH of the Pullman Porters — he was President of the Congress. I have great confidence in him, I believe in his honesty. Pretty soon — he signed up a little over a year ago. I couldn't go along with them. He resigned because it was dominated by radicals. I don't think I have ever been a member. When they started out people might have given one dollar — because I really didn't believe in JOHN DAVIS.

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- Q. Have you ever contributed money or personal services to the National Negro Congress?
- A. No personal service, no money, I don't think I have ever given any money. I don't know whether they went after me because I was interested in the Scottsboro Boys but that is not in the interest of the National Negro Congress; but I was interested in fighting for the Scottsboro Boys and that's the only reason I would have given one dollar. I have never been a contributor of the organization. But is just accidental, if it had been a fellow a little more honest, I might have joined, but I wouldn't have been active. JOHN spoke before the N.A.A.C.P. He spoke so much some of the older men began to kick. I couldn't kick because I am a speaker myself, being another fellow on the program. If I don't believe in a fellow I don't pretend to go along with him. If I was affiliated I would have gotten out long before now.
- Q. Are you a member or have you ever been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action?
- A. No, I have seen that, I don't think -- I think they have sent some literature since I have been here, some committee for democratic action. Never was a member of it and don't know if it is Communist or not. If I did join, it was democratic and not communist.
- Q. Have you ever contributed any money or services in the interest of that organization?
- A. None whatsoever, I don't know them; have just seen the literature.
- Q. You say you may have, to your recollection, received some literature from this group?
- A. I think so, I don't know whether in fact it comes through the mail, but I have thrown it away. I have seen democratic action, but I don't know whether it was Washington Committee, it might have been -- will you come, we are going to have a meeting of democratic action -- but I haven't been. I haven't had time.
- Q. Are you a member or have you ever been a member of the American Peoples Mobilization, formerly known as the American Peace Mobilization?

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- A. The American Peoples Mobilization—I tell you once they had something we called anti-imperialist league and we had a big meeting in New York, 15,000 people in one place from all over the country on a non-partisan basis with Democrats and Socialists — NORMAN THOMAS and MARY FOX and that crowd. MARY FOX wired me that the Communist crowd are taking it over and we will follow you, but I told them I resigned because she went. NORMAN THOMAS is a pretty good scout, but we resigned. I don't know what it has become, so if you ask me, I don't know whether it is they who changed into the Anti-Imperialist League or the League Against War and Fascism. Then it became the League for Peace and Democracy.
- Q. Is that the American League for Peace and Democracy?
- A. We got out of it, it was two or three weeks — an honest person, a Socialist, they were getting out, and later it changed its name and I have never gone along with it since.
- Q. Have you ever contributed money or services to the American Peoples Mobilization?
- A. Don't ever remember doing anything for Peace Mobilization. I remember they used to have meetings before we started the war. I don't remember ever contributing because frankly since this war started I have been for the war and for the United States to take its place in it. From the very day of the war — I was in Los Angeles — I thought we should line up for this war. I don't live in that way because they don't believe in the things I believe in. I couldn't go that way.
- Q. Do you advocate or have you ever advocated any change in the constitutional form of Government which we enjoy in the United States?
- A. Incidentally, no. We have mentioned that the United States should have charge of the election machine instead of the states for the negroes because of the negro situation in some of the states. I suppose — I don't remember if I advocated that change, but I would have been in favor of it. There has never been any real program to put it over. I might find some article of mine, but I don't remember anything about it; but the Constitution of the United States, incidentally, no. That is the only instrument of its kind that any people in the history of the world have lived by for 153 years. Russia tried to get up something but it wasn't anything like this. The United States Constitution is the thing that saved the negroes and the Supreme Court. I know that too well.

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WFO #101-2190

We can amend our Constitution, but the democratic form of Government is one I have always supported. So it has been, so it is. Everything I have written and said show this.

Q. Are you at the present time a member of any organization which you have reason to believe is dominated by the Communist Party or may be controlled and its policies dictated by any foreign government?

A. No. The only thing I remember is the Industrial League with NORMAN THOMAS and HARRY LAIDLER, one of the greatest socialist scholars in the country — in the world; but of course they are socialists and I don't favor the Communists, don't like them. Sometimes I could go along with them, but generally not; but nothing I belonged to that was foreign dominated, that is one reason I could never get any closer to the underdogs of the Communist Party. I was in the Spanish Aid Society. I suppose I gave them some money — they were trying to help the Republican cause in Spain against Franco. I went down to Barcelona once — the Italians were bombing it for two or three days. It was quite a thrill. I went down for the Medical Bureau. The State Department passports were marked not good for Spain in sympathy with the Republican side but I never went into their building until I went back. I was afraid to go down to Spain and they began to help me to go to their Medical Bureau. When I came back I went for the first time to the office because I was interested in that sort of thing. You say Communist or dominated by a foreign government, but what their policy is since that time I don't know. I forget the name of the people in it now. If I have been in anything like that it was without my knowledge. Of course I have never been in Russia.

Q. Is there anything you would like to say which you feel would be pertinent?

A. I don't think of anything. You have asked everything I could say. In the Associated Negro Press — or in any negro firstclass paper — you could find, certainly in issues of the last two years, some little editorial of mine. Before the Japanese joined up with HITLER and MUSSOLINI, I was always saying good words for the Japanese. There was a man HIKIDA, very polite and very smart, who would come to our office, and pretty soon I found out that he was not a reporter, that he was a Japanese working for the intelligence getting information, cultivating the colored people. He found out I was talking

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WFO #101-2190

about going to Japan to visit — I have been most places in the world and would have gone there if the Chinese war had not begun. A man who was head of the YMCA in New York, RAY SWEETMAN, used to be a Minister in China, and he was telling me that Japanese ships were going through the Panama Canal for \$150. I have written a good many things and one day HIRADA showed me three or four sheets of paper with every editorial I had written on Japan for the last three or four years. I just smiled. I don't know where he is now. He was undoubtedly working with the intelligence in a lawful way, getting all the information he could, and he showed me what he had.

Q. Anything else?

A. Nothing that I can think of.

Q. I think the questions I have asked you about cover everything I had in mind.

A. I was out in St. Louis the other day — the St. Louis Post Dispatch had been publishing a lot about the Japanese. There were about 600 fellows there, I invited the Post and the Times Star and they sent out reporters and I spoke for an hour and ten minutes and I asked if any of them had been a member of the Pacific Movement. I think if they had, they would have told me.

/s/ WM. PICKENS

Witness:

R. F. RYAN, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Insert
The records of Washington T-4, a Government Agency which conducts personnel and intelligence investigations, reflected that an investigation was made by that Agency of Mr. PICKENS in 1941. The results of this investigation have been utilized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in conducting the instant loyalty investigation.

The records of Washington T-5, a Government Agency which conducts personnel and intelligence investigations, contained no pertinent information.

The records of the Special Investigations Squad, Metropolitan Police Department, contain the following information concerning WILLIAM PICKENS:

A circular advertisement, publicizing a meeting to be held January 8, 1939, under the auspices of the Negro Peoples' Committee to Aid Spanish

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WFO #101-2190

Democracy, American League for Peace and Democracy, National Negro Congress, National Lift the Embargo Conference and the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy, lists WILLIAM PICKENS as one of the speakers at this meeting to be held in the Lincoln Congregational Temple, 11th and R Streets, NW. The American League for Peace and Democracy and the National Negro Congress have been declared by the Attorney General to be organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The Negro Peoples' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy were cited as Communist front organizations by the House Committee on un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

These files also contained a leaflet entitled, "Call To a Conference on the Relation of the Present Struggle in Spain to Democracy and its Meaning to the Negro People", which was to be held in Washington, D. C., on January 8 and 9, 1939. Among the signers to this "call" was WILLIAM PICKENS. On the bottom of this leaflet were blanks which could be used by endorsers and contributors to the conference, and it was indicated that these blanks should be filled out and sent to the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy, 1410 H Street, NW, Washington, D. C.

The records of Stone's Mercantile Agency and the Credit Bureau, Washington, D. C., contain no information concerning the employee.

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WFO #101-2190

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

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T-2:

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T-3:

T-4:

T-5:

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Telatypes were sent to the Bureau and the New York Division on June 3, 1948, and to the Bureau on June 1, 1948.

As of the date of this report, the results of a check of the employee's name through the records of the Identification Division of the Bureau have not been received.

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- 25 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

05-15-2033

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This is the cover page of the report on pages
191-215.

Title: WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

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Report of: Special Agent

Date and Place: June 17, 1948, at Washington, D. C.

PROPERTY OF FBI

This confidential report and its
contents are loaned to you by the
FBI and are not to be distributed
outside of agency to which loaned

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUNE 25, 1948

SAC, NEW YORK

URGENT

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, L.E. REURTEL JUNE TWELFTH, LAST DISCLOSING COMPLETED INVESTIGATION. BUDED MAY TWENTY NINTH, LAST. SUBMIT REPORT IMMEDIATELY.

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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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TELETYPE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 12 1948

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Pennington.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

WASH FROM NEW YORK 115 12 845PM

DIRECTOR ROUTINE

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WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY, LGE. REPORT HAS BEEN DELAYED PENDING INTER-
VIEW WITH LOUIS F. BUDENZ. A PERTINENT WITNESS. INVESTIGATION COMPLE-
TED AND REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED AS SOON AS TYPED.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

cc-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

JUNE 29, 1948

URGENT

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Transmit the following message to SAC, NEW YORK

WILLIAM PICKINS, TREASURY, LGE. REURREP JUNE TWENTY-THREE, LAST, WHICH REFLECTS RESULTS OF AN INTERVIEW WITH LOUIS BUDENZ. ASCERTAIN IF BUDENZ WILL TESTIFY BEFORE A HEARING BOARD. ALSO ADVISE IF PREFERABLE TO USE CONFIDENTIAL SYMBOL OF BUDENZ IN DETAILS OF URREP. PAGES SEVEN AND EIGHT DISCLOSE INFORMATION REGARDING A COLUMN BY FREDERICK WELTMAN IN THE "NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM" JANUARY SIX, NINETEEN FORTY-ONE, INDICATING PICKINS WAS A SPONSOR OF THE AMERICAN RESCUE SHIP MISSION, WHICH MISSION WAS ADMINISTERED BY THE UNITED AMERICAN-SPANISH AID COMMITTEE. IN THE JANUARY EIGHT, NINETEEN FORTY-ONE, ISSUE OF THE "NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM" WELTMAN WROTE OF PICKIN'S RESIGNATION FROM THE AFOREMENTIONED MISSION. THE "DAILY WORKER" FOR MARCH FIVE, NINETEEN FORTY-ONE, STATES THAT [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] SIGNED A STATEMENT DEFENDING THE CP. OBTAIN SIX PHOTOSTATIC COPIES OF THESE THREE ARTICLES MENTIONED ABOVE AND FORWARD IMMEDIATELY. BUDED MAY TWENTY-NINE, LAST. EXPEDITE.

- TCB:hw
- Mr. Tolson
 - Mr. E. A. Tamm
 - Mr. Clegg
 - Mr. Glavin
 - Mr. Ladd
 - Mr. Nichols
 - Mr. Rosen
 - Mr. Tracy
 - Mr. Carson
 - Mr. Egan
 - Mr. Gurnea
 - Mr. Harbo
 - Mr. Hendon
 - Mr. Pennington
 - Mr. Quinn Tamm
 - Mr. Nease
 - Miss Gandy

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71 AUG 16 1948

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
 FROM : SAC, New York

DATE: July 1, 1948

SUBJECT: WILLIAM PICKENS
 Director, Interracial Section
 Savings Bonds Division
 U. S. Treasury Department
 New York, New York
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reurtel June 29, 1948.

Mr. LOUIS BUDENZ will testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board only if he is subpoenaed.

It is considered preferable to set out the name of Mr. BUDENZ in the results of the investigation rather than to use a confidential informant symbol.

Enclosed are six photostatic copies of the two newspaper columns by FREDERICK WOLTMAN referred to in your teletype; also enclosed are six photostatic copies of the "Daily Worker" article concerning [redacted] This article was also requested in your teletype.

Enc. (18) Serial 15
 8-ENC1 See 8-30-48
 8-30-48 m.d.f.

LEC:LJR
 121-1619

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ON 05-14-2008

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JUL 26 1948

Date:

To: Mr. James E. Hatcher
Chief, Investigations Division
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER
Closing Full Field
Disloyal ()
Unfounded (x)
Remarks:

File # 121-4978

From: J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Subject: WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

These are transmitted herewith four copies of the following
report covering an investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning
the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835:
Report of Special Agent Lewis E. Glenn
Dated June 17, 1948 at Washington, D.C.

Report of Special Agent Leo E. Conroy
Dated June 23, 1948 at New York, New York

Report of Special Agent Edwin W. Flint
Dated June 12, 1948 at Chicago, Illinois

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
Please advise this Bureau of the ultimate disposition which
is made of this case.

JUL 26 1948
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

71 AUG 1948

JUL 26 1948
FEB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-14-2008 BY UC 60322 LP/PJ/SZ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

NY FILE NO. 121-1619 eba

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 6/23/48	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/28; 6/1-5, 7-10, 12/48	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div>
TITLE WILLIAM PICKENS, Director, Interracial Section, U.S. Savings Bonds Division, Treasury Department New York, New York			CHARACTER OF CASE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Employment and residence in New York City verified. Most persons interviewed state employee is a staunch champion of civil rights for negroes. J. B. MATTHEWS states employee was vice-Chairman of American League Against War and Fascism but withdrew because of Communist rioting at meeting of that organization; MATTHEWS also states employee was a member of many Communist front organizations but considers PICKENS a "joiner", who would join any organization to obtain personal publicity or to further the cause of the negroes. MATTHEWS considers employee loyal to the U. S. LOUIE F. BUDENZ, former editor of "Daily Worker", also advised employee was a member of many "Communist front" organizations and was generally sympathetic to Communist Party in 1930's. BUDENZ did not know him to be a member of CP nor to have written for "Daily Worker"; he has not heard of PICKENS having any contact with CP front organizations since 1940. BUDENZ received a letter of congratulations from PICKENS when he, BUDENZ, broke away from CP. T-4 advised employee gave speech on behalf of United American Spanish Aid Committee on December 1, 1940. T-5, in 1940, advised employee was friendly with "radical gargs" in Harlem but could not say he was a Communist. T-6 advised in 1940 that employee was a "fountainhead" for Japanese views in the United States. All other persons interviewed consider employee definitely loyal and patriotic to the U.S. "New York World Telegram" reflects employee resigned from American Rescue Ship Mission because of it's Communist domination. Other letters and articles in "World Telegram" reflect employee was critical of Communists for their interference with the defense of eight negro boys at Scottsboro, Alabama. No credit or Criminal record.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>Edward [Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE JUN 25 1948	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6 - Bureau (24 Encls.) 2 - New York 1 - Washington Field (Info.)		RECORDED - 69 INDEXED - 69 EX-15
44-658-7/21/48 62 AUG 25 1948		4978

NY 121-1619

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to SAC, Washington, dated 4-29-48.

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See FDPS pg. 234 for cover page of this report and
declassification stamp

NY 121-1619

WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
June 23, 1948
New York, New York

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Confidential Informant New York City T-1, who is known to be reliable, advised that the employee was Field Secretary and Director of Branches for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1920 to 1942 at which time he resigned voluntarily. He stated that he considers the employee a "conservative", but states that PICKENS "has a mind of his own on all matters and does not hesitate to express himself".

T-1 advised that the employee has given a very great number of speeches, but most of them, aside from Treasury Department Bond Savings rallies, dealt with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People activities or racial matters. He stated that on occasion PICKENS has given speeches for organizations other than the NAACP, but would do so only if such organizations would pay him a fee and not because he agreed with the policies or aims of such organizations. T-1 could recall no specific instances in this regard.

T-1 stated he has never known the employee to be connected with any disloyal organizations. He advised PICKENS has written several books and numerous magazine and newspaper articles, which were distributed by the Associated Negro Press, however, he has never known PICKENS to write any articles which might be considered disloyal. T-1 stated that most of PICKENS' writings deal with the racial question.

T-1 explained his description of PICKENS as a "conservative" by saying that he has "never known PICKENS to espouse Communism or any other totalitarian ideology". The Informant stated that, in fact, PICKENS is "rather contemptuous of the Communists because of their lack of appreciation of the race problem in the United States".

NY 121-1619

Dr. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was interviewed at his home, 218 West 139th Street, New York City. Dr. WRIGHT advised he has been closely acquainted with the employee for the past 25 years. He stated that PICKENS has always impressed him as a thoroughly loyal and patriotic American citizen. He said that PICKENS' work with the NAACP was highly commendable. He added that officials of the NAACP would not have tolerated PICKENS in his lengthy employment by that organization "if he had exhibited any pro-Communist or other subversive tendencies".

Residence

[redacted] New York City, advised he has known the employee and his family for more than 25 years. He stated that he thinks highly of them as to character and loyalty. He was certain the employee "has never been an advocate of Communism or other totalitarian forms of government", and stated that PICKENS has always been definitely loyal to the United States in all his statements and actions.

[redacted] advised he has known the employee for approximately 20 years. He stated that he has always considered PICKENS a loyal American citizen and has never heard any comments from other persons which would reflect unfavorably on PICKENS' loyalty.

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[redacted] advised he has been acquainted with the employee for approximately 20 years. He stated that PICKENS has never said or done anything which would cause him to doubt his loyalty.

[redacted] stated she has known the employee and his wife for five years and during that period has not had any reason to question their loyalty to the United States.

[redacted] advised she has known the employee for 35 years. She has always considered PICKENS a loyal American citizen.

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In a previous investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1941, [redacted] advised that he had known the employee since 1930 and stated he felt sure the employee had never been connected with the Communist Party or any "Un-American" groups.

NY 121-1619

Acquaintances

Mr. J. B. MATTHEWS, 311 West 56th Street, New York City, formerly the Research Director of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, advised that he has been well acquainted with the employee for more than 25 years. He stated that PICKENS was a Vice-Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism at the time he, MATTHEWS, was Chairman of that organization prior to February, 1934. He advised that he and PICKENS, together with several other prominent members of that organization resigned from the American League Against War and Fascism in February, 1934 after Communists caused a riot at a meeting of the organization at Madison Square Garden, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS stated that at the time he and PICKENS were officers in the American League Against War and Fascism, EARL BROWDER, former National Secretary of the Communist Party, and PICKENS were Co-Vice-Chairmen of the organization. He stated that PICKENS was aware of BROWDER's connections but that PICKENS was not influenced in thinking by BROWDER.

Mr. MATTHEWS stated PICKENS was "probably regarded as a fellow traveler with the Communists" during the 1930's inasmuch as "he was engaged in almost every type of endeavor which would assist in furthering the Communist program; however, any such activity on the part of PICKENS was engaged in for the advancement of the negroes and not because PICKENS was in sympathy with the aims or objectives of the Communists". Mr. MATTHEWS stated he feels that the employee, in years past, was "politically ignorant", and that he was a "joiner" in that he joined a large number of organizations, both "pro-Communist" and "non-Communist", merely for the sake of obtaining personal publicity or for begging the support of such organizations in his constant fight for equal civil rights for negroes. Mr. MATTHEWS stated that it was his recollection that the employee has been a sponsor or member of many "Communist-Front organizations" during the 1930's, but except for the American League Against War and Fascism he, MATTHEWS, had no personal knowledge of such membership and therefore he preferred not to name any other organizations.

MATTHEWS recalled that in 1940 or 1941 PICKENS had signed a letter prepared by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in behalf of a purported Communist, SAM DARCY, which letter was sent to the Governor of California asking for executive action in behalf of DARCY, who

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was to be prosecuted in California. Mr. MATTHEWS stated that he is "definitely of the opinion that PICKENS is not and never was a Communist or even a Communist sympathizer". Mr. MATTHEWS said that he considers PICKENS a loyal and patriotic American.

Mr. MATTHEWS did not desire to furnish a signed statement, but stated he would be willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

The Attorney General has advised that the Communist Party, U.S.A., the American League Against War and Fascism, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties are organizations coming within the purview of Part III, Section 3 of the President's Executive Order 9835.

[redacted] New York City, advised he has been closely acquainted with the employee and his family for the past forty years. He stated that he regards them highly as to character, loyalty and patriotism to the United States.

[redacted] same address, also stated that she has known the employee for almost forty years and said that he has never said or done anything which would cause her to doubt his loyalty.

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Confidential Informant New York City T-2, a reporter for a New York City daily newspaper who is of known reliability, advised that he has known the employee and his family for approximately thirty years. He said that the employee has two daughters, [redacted] the latter being the wife of [redacted] and one son, [redacted].

Confidential Informant New York City T-2 stated that he has never known PICKENS to be inclined towards Communism and has never known PICKENS to do any writing or make any speeches which would cause him to doubt PICKENS' loyalty to the United States. He stated that PICKENS has always been vitally interested in the welfare of negroes. He added that he considered PICKENS an "opportunist", in that he would join any organization or group which would afford him publicity or might possibly enhance his prestige. He also stated that PICKENS would give a speech for almost any person or any organization that would pay him a fee, without regard for the basic objectives of the person or organization.

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T-2 stated that he has never known the employee to write for any "pro-Communist" publications and has not known PICKENS to do any writing which would cause him to doubt PICKENS' loyalty.

Confidential Informant New York City T-3, a prominent social worker in New York City and known to be reliable, advised he has known the employee for many years and has never known PICKENS to say or do anything which would cause him to question PICKENS' loyalty to the United States.

Mr. LOUIS F. BUDENZ, an Assistant Professor at Fordham University, New York City, advised he has been acquainted with the employee for many years. From approximately 1940 to 1945 Mr. BUDENZ was Editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast daily Communist newspaper, and he was its Labor Editor before that time. He stated that during the middle nineteen thirties PICKENS was "connected with many Communist-front organizations", as a member or sponsor and was "generally close to the Communist Party and its prominent members"; however, Mr. BUDENZ never knew PICKENS to have been a member of the Communist Party. He could not recall any activities of PICKENS in relation to the Communist Party since 1940. He stated that he could not recall the employee ever having written for the "Daily Worker".

Mr. BUDENZ stated he does not feel that PICKENS is at all friendly to the Communist Party today. He bases his opinion on the fact that when he, BUDENZ, broke away from the Communist Party in 1945 he received a letter from PICKENS in which the employee congratulated him warmly on his move and wished him success. BUDENZ stated that the letter clearly indicated that PICKENS was opposed to the Communist Party.

Miscellaneous

The records of the Board of Elections, New York City, reflect that MINNIE PICKENS, 260 West 139th Street, New York City, wife of the employee, registered as a member of the American Labor Party in 1940, 1943, 1944, and 1946. These records reflect that, during the years 1933 to 1947 inclusive, the employee himself registered as a member of one of the two major political parties.

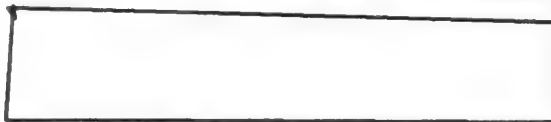
Concerning the American Labor Party, the Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, Second Session, reflects the following information: "Support of the Communist Party to the above (American Labor Party) has been recognized by the appointment of a Communist to an official position in the city government (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p 356)"; also, the American Labor Party was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, as a Communist Front on March 29, 1944, (pp 49, 77f, 153, 189).

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Confidential Informant [redacted] a reliable informant in the Communist Party in New York City, advised that he recalled the employee as having been very prominent in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but he did not know him personally. He stated that he has never heard of PICKENS being associated with the Communist Party or of his having any affiliation with the Communist Party.

The following confidential informants, all of whom are of known reliability, and who are familiar with Communist Party activities in New York City, could furnish no information regarding the employee:



Confidential Informant New York City T-4, who is known to be reliable, advised the employee made a speech on December 1, 1940 at a rally sponsored by the United American Spanish Aid Committee and held at Manhattan Center, New York City. T-4 made the following comments on that speech: "William Pickens said he traveled through Spain during the war and was deeply impressed by the heroic struggle made by the people. Although the Spanish people were fighting for the cause of democracy, the Governments of England, France and the United States did not offer any aid to them. Pickens told how the English Government actually helped Franco by doing everything to prevent the legal Government from getting on. If the Spanish refugees are helped to start life anew in the Western World, it will demonstrate the international brotherhood of anti-Fascist forces." This Informant had no further information regarding the employee. T-4 will not appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board, *and will not give a signed statement.* *Signatures*

On page 962, Appendix IX of it's Report, the House Committee on Un-American Activities states: "During the Spanish Civil War, the Communist Party organized numerous front organizations as a part of it's major propaganda campaigns in the party's entire history in this country; among them were the American Rescue Ship Mission and the United American Spanish Aid Committee."

In December, 1941 Confidential Informant New York City T-5, of known reliability, advised that PICKENS had been "friendly with some of the radical gangs in Harlem but could not say he was a Communist". Upon reinter-view T-5 stated he could furnish no further information regarding the

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employee, and could not recall any specific information regarding the "radical gangs" mentioned by him in 1941. T-5 will not testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board, *and will not give a signed statement.* *spelling*

In May, 1940, Confidential Informant New York City T-6, of known reliability, advised that the employee actively assisted in the Japanese propaganda work in the United States by being a "fountain-head" for Japanese views. Confidential Informant T-6 is not available for re-interview nor for testimony before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

A review of the files of the newspaper, "The New York World Telegram", reflected three short articles written by WILLIAM PICKENS. One of these articles written by the employee and published July 24, 1931, criticized the Communists for having become involved in the defense of eight negro boys charged with murder at Scottsboro, Alabama. Another article, written by one WILLIAM PICKENS and published on November 24, 1931, criticized THEODORE DREISER for injecting "the Communist issue" into the defense of the negro boys at Scottsboro. Another article written by one WILLIAM PICKENS and published on July 26, 1934, concerns itself with the idea of "Communism being used as an excuse and alibi every time some social mess is stirred up".

An editorial published in the "New York World Telegram" on July 30, 1931, quotes a statement by the employee regarding the aforementioned defense of the negro boys at Scottsboro: "It must have been the aim of the Communist agitators to deliberately muddle the matter and stir up trouble. It is a desperate and vain effort to win the so-called 'Negro proletariat' to the Communist Party. They misunderstand the situation and the psychology of the American Negro and of the South. I am not here opposing Communism as an economic philosophy. I am opposing it as a means for defending those eight Negro boys in the South. It would be the best means in the world for hanging them or getting them mobbed."

Photostatic copies of each of the aforementioned articles are being attached to each copy of this report as exhibits.

In the "New York World Telegram" for January 6, 1941, Columnist FREDERICK WOLTMAN states that the employee was a sponsor of the American Rescue Ship Mission, "which was administered by the United American Spanish Aid Committee; this administering group whose members are not paraded on the letterhead contains the Communist elements".

2 *photostatic copies etc.*

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In the "New York World Telegram" on January 8, 1941, Mr. WOLTMAN stated that the employee was one of the many sponsors who had submitted their resignations to the American Rescue Ship Mission after the publication of the aforementioned article by Mr. WOLTMAN showing the Communist domination of it. *copy*

a photo
FREDERICK WOLTMAN is a Columnist for the "New York World Telegram" and received the Pulitzer Prize in 1947 for his newspaper articles on Communism and Communist infiltration of organizations and labor unions.

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B
It was noted in the "Daily Worker" for March 5, 1941, page 2, that HARRIET I. PICKENS, New York City, was a signer of a statement defending the Communist Party. This statement urged the President and Congress to uphold the Constitutional Rights of the Communist Party in the United States. *copy*

a photo in copy
The records of the New York City Police Department reflect that both the employee and HARRIET IDA PICKENS were sponsors of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which organization has been listed by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The records of the New York City Police Department contained no arrest record on the employee.

The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York failed to indicate any information reflecting upon the employee's loyalty.

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated June 23, 1948, at New York, New York, are as follows:

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T-1

[redacted] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

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T-2

[redacted] a negro reporter for the "New York Times".

T-3

[redacted] Director of the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

T-4

Formerly Confidential Informant [redacted] of the New York Office.

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T-5

Formerly Confidential Informant [redacted]

T-6

[redacted] Advisor to the Board of Publicity of the National Council of the Chinese Government. [redacted] could not be located for reinterview. His former address, 24 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and the Chinese Ministry of Information, New York City, were contacted with negative results.

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ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Six copies of each of four clippings from the "New York World Telegram" are being enclosed as exhibits.

A serial in the New York City file 101-63, a Hatch Act case on the employee, reflects a picture and some background information on the employee. It also states, "Is a pledged Communist working among the Socialists" and also "At one time regularly published articles in 'Daily Worker'". The source of this information is written on the serial as [redacted] East Orange, New Jersey; no other information concerning this source is contained in the file. The Newark Office was requested to contact [redacted] and upon doing so he advised he did not know the employee and had never been contacted by Agents of this Bureau; no report is being submitted by Newark.

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By teletype dated June 9, 1948, the Chicago Office was requested to conduct appropriate investigation at the Associated Negro Press Headquarters; the employee wrote for the organization.

The writer was assisted in interviews in Harlem by Special Agent [redacted] Special Agent [redacted] in interviewing J. B. MATTHEWS; also by Special Agent [redacted] in interviewing Confidential Informant New York City T-1.

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Information concerning the writings of the employee and also information regarding the employee's membership in the various Communist front organizations is in the possession of the Washington Field Office, which is the primary office in this case and therefore the submission of that pertinent information is being left to the Washington Office.

A copy of this report is designated for the Washington Field inasmuch as the employee is working and residing in Washington, D. C.

Dr. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was encountered in the course of the neighborhood investigation at 260 West 139th Street, New York City.

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DECLASSIFIED BY UC 60322 LP/PJ/SZ
ON 05-14-2008

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**WILLIAM PICKENS
Director
Interracial Section
U. S. Savings Bonds Division
Treasury Department
New York, New York
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYERS**



**Report of: Special Agent LEO E. CONROY
Dated: June 23 , 1948, New York, New York.**

PROPERTY OF FBI
This confidential report and its
contents are loaned to you by the
FBI and are not to be distributed
outside of your agency.

Mrs. Roosevelt Quits 'Mission' For Spaniards Run by Reds

By William Fickens
Mrs. Roosevelt, first wife of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, today announced that she has resigned her position as chairman of the American Rescue Ship Mission, a group which has been administering relief to Spanish refugees.

They took this step after learning that these well-known names are being used as fronts for an enterprise that was conceived and has been administered almost entirely by known Communists and other Communist sympathizers.

No known Communist and few Communist sympathizers are revealed here. Thirty printed under the American Rescue Ship Mission letterhead are these seemingly innocuous words: Administered by the United American Spanish Aid Committee. It is this administering group, whose members are not named on the letterhead, which contains the Communist elements.

By William Fickens
Theodore Dreiser, under auspices of a committee for the defense of political and labor-case prisoners, went down into Kentucky to investigate the burdens and denial of legal rights which have taken place during the miners' strike. As a result Dreiser and a woman, who was doubtless on the same mission, have been indicted by a Kentucky "grand jury" on the charge of associating together in a Kentucky hotel.

But what interests me is that Dreiser is finding out what every black man of the South knows—that when you get after that section about its lynching it will do its best to "red-herring" the trail and to "change the subject" by injecting, or even framing, some entirely irrelevant matter.

Dreiser went down to investigate the wholesale killing and imprisoning of Kentucky working people, and behold! the "grand jury" is trying to shift the matter to a trial of Dreiser's personal morals and manners. The "grand jurors," who have not indicted anybody for the mistreatment and beating administered to its own "poor white" workers, have hurried to indict Dreiser for a relatively trivial something.

Perhaps, however, they will help us to beat into Dreiser's head what we mean when we tell him and others not to mix communism and politics into the defense of those nine Negro boys in Alabama. The Ku Klux element of the South would just love to have the battle shifted from the question as to the guilt or innocence of the boys to the question of "radicalism" and other such blah-blah.

If they could not prove the boys guilty, they could easily prove that "communism" is guilty—and "therefore kill those Niggers!"

Both Theodore Dreiser and Lincoln Steffens, bright as they seem to be in some other matters, have "gone off half-cocked" with the communists on the question of race, and seem entirely incapable of understanding the average colored man's objections to having this dangerous political handicap added to the almost insufferable racial handicap of those nine boys who are in jeopardy of their lives.

New York.

liberals and progressives of all shades.
Manhattan.

By William Fickens
Intelligent people who do not agree in the main with communist party tactics or with their official indorsement of violent methods nevertheless grow sick and tired of hearing "communism" used as an excuse and alibi every time some social mess, like that in San Francisco, is stirred up.

In our right reason we know that neither "communists" nor any other political or social group could stir up a rum like that out of thin air. It may or may not be that communists are leading in the fight of the working people, in some of those unions and groups, but what of that? What about the principles involved? What about the conditions complained of?

Let the American people, white and black, beware! We have seen these same tactics used in Germany. It is Hitlerism to the core—to beat down and subvert all the people, all the working classes, on the pretext that the country must be "saved" from some particularly dangerous political faction or revolutionary group. It was a rotten excuse in Germany, in the light of what has happened, even though in Germany the communists were really a great and powerful party; but it is a scoundrel's or idiot's excuse in America, where the communists have hardly a sufficient number to supply even the leaders in a great struggle. But what about the followers? Can communist leadership, as communist leadership, get the rank and file of all the other parties to follow the communists? There must be something radically wrong with all other leadership if that be so.

It is not, rather, that the followers in the labor struggles are not interested in political aims but in economic and industrial aims, and these that are at hand—and the communists, because they are in the group and interested in the basic system, are only interested in some of these things.

Exhibit 10

William Fisher, 1841 Secretary-General, for the Advancement of Colored People.

It is also probable that not nearly as many as one-half of ten of the black natives knew that the white man had ordered men who were proceeding to take them out of the rural community of "share-cropper" economy were Communists. And it is plainly true that if any of these know or had ever heard the word "Communist," not nearly as many as one out of the hundred knew what the word meant.

[illegible]

...the ... of ...

By SIMON H. SCHNEIDER.

In the late war I was overseas at XI, and begged the Almighty not to let me die. Old men make wars, then sit behind comfortably while youth kills youth. Let the old men kill themselves off if they must have wars. The world belongs to youth. Let them live. If it were up to youth there'd be no wars.

Brooklyn.

Peculiarly appropriate was your reference to the attitude of William Pickens, spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in his letter of reply to the Negroes of London. Pickens was first brought to the attention of the public by the Communists, but only wrote the International Labor Union a letter of praise but sent a check as contribution. Today he is denigrating the interest which Communists are displaying in the wrongs of the Negro.

[illegible][illegible]

The image is a high-contrast, black and white scan of a document page, likely a newspaper or magazine. It features dense, illegible text arranged in multiple columns. The text is rendered as dark, noisy shapes against a lighter background, making it impossible to read. The layout suggests a standard journalistic format with several columns of text per page.

By Wm. E. Towne.

In the last twelve months Graphical Union No. 6, of New City, has paid \$336,000 in dues to its members unable to procure work. In addition to the above amount 46,000 days of work have been paid out for the relief of the unemployed by holders of regular jobs, who work five days in a week instead of six on the daily newspapers. In all this amounts to approximately \$465,000.

Over a million dollars—in a
for unemployed relief handed
by an organization of union pr
and not a line, editorial or c
wise, in the way of publicity.
44 ELL ST., Floral Park, L.

[Since the foregoing letter was
received, Austin Howard, president
No. 4, has announced that con-
tribution to date amounts to
\$27. The union has voted by a
majority to continue its relief
till September. If the necessity
exists then, another vote will
be taken.—Editor's note]

By **Marion McE. Fendley**

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1037.

The advice given to W. L. "Your Love Life" column (July 30) seems to me absurd. Sex-related problems are the foremost cause of divorce here. Dr. Papanicolaou in his art magazine, "Leading physicians agree with him. Therefore good ways to prevent this condition would not be highly desirable personal compulsion control based by looking at each of us holding hands in the morning, or suggested by "Your Love Life" even by the most passionate. W. L. objects to the method of abstinence.

...these should have been
...for some complete
...of these stories
...a couple of
...and have been so fever divorced
...and fever suddenly men and women
...It takes more than a column
...write helpful articles on love.
...Johnston, Boston, U.S.A.

~~SECRET~~

[illegible]

By F. Tennant.

100

President Hoover's mo-
success will undoubtedly be
relief to the afflicted Germa-
as well as to the rest of the
As for the United States, let
that the Hoover administra-
not fail to see and act with
clarity that it has seen and
the case of Germany.

Our present financial difficulties are not wholly due to the collapse of the cotton and sugar debits. The main handicaps to our prosperity are the high cost of money and the unpopular Eighteenth Amendment.

A downward revision of the price index and the repeal of the price controls would swiftly restore the confidence of the nation and get to work the five or six million unemployed.

What we need is not inq
laws like the Volstead act
educate the masses to ten
and self-control, with the
barred forever.
New York.

By A. Norman.

100

Why not encourage the trade as it was done in 1921 exempting new buildings period of ten (10) years.

Considering that materials
low price it ought to start t
of prosperity by giving ample
to many.
New York

by a World-Telegram Box

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

Another column of literary
by Mr. Maynard Brown's sec
will cost you three steady read
our newspaper. This seems
the consensus of opinion among
friends (World-Telegram res

If the young lady has journalistic ambitions let her write for the Idaho,
The Brown.

Mrs. Catt Repudiates
Use of Name by
Red-Backed Group

... that who was killed as a
... of the ship Mission was
... declared she was "not
... with a known politi-
... the campaign in char-
... ship to evade British
... The World Telegram
... the project had been
... a Communist
... directed by a group of pro-
... of pro-
... remained in the
... ground.

[illegible]

But another sponsor, Dr. Abraham Fraenger, director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, insisted his name be retained. "I am dubious," he wrote Miss Helen Bryan, executive secretary of the mission committee, "but anyone should be taken in to look talk regarding a commission. It is high time that some of things should become ridiculous." In the meantime, Miss Keller was considered urging the "directors of this Mission drive, to reveal this book and operation to the National Industrial Conference, which raises charity and social service organizations. This paper discusses yesterday the Mission officers several times had turned down several times had for data. The bureau's response.

Last week, before anything is published concerning the Com. (Continued on page 10)

Copy

of Statement in Defense of Gov.

List of Signers of Statement Defending the Communist Party

Party

Supreme Soviet Session Ends, Okay New Pact

New Cotton Pictures

Sofia Bats All News of Soviet Note of Rebuke

**Moscow News Declared
Sofia's Action Aided
Spread of War**

Capital APNE Head Refused Lists to Dice

Best Available
Copy

[illegible]

ARNOLD CONSTABLE

FIFTH AVENUE AT 42ND

...and with the same. The chief for actors ruled.

THE DAY OF THE NIGHT

Revolt: Our Secret Mission Run by Reds

[illegible][illegible]

The other important fact is that the Chinese Government has been very successful in its efforts to suppress the opium trade. The Chinese Government has been very successful in its efforts to suppress the opium trade. The Chinese Government has been very successful in its efforts to suppress the opium trade.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

News

... **Ministers:** Irving
Bundy; **Paul D. Moody,**
and **William A.**
... president-elect of
the three deans, **Chris-**
tin Prinstein; **Margerie**
Smith, and **Mildred**
Wagner.

Speaker, David C. Wile-
son, D. H. Murray of the
Association for the Adv-
ancement of Colored People,
who **Wicks in the last**
two sessions has com-
mended the measure pro-
posed, but they are in a

... the organization set up
... committee design to par-
... present. Here is the
... all the Communists
... For instance, the
... ocean ship **Minotaur** has
... returned for the
... Russian Brigade. The leader
... is **William Wolf,** who
... through the Communists
... distributed for poster-
... Communist. He be-
... Street **Warner**
... **Thomas and Bill Tamm**
... the market represent-
... the **Legation**
... her **Swissman.**

... there is **Leonard Low-**

...the Red Army
to liberate
...is strictly party
and mass work of
a figure information
...party-raising de-
...Chinese revolution
...the "Red"
...the government
on the
...the Chinese
...the Chinese

...signed by Zhou.
...Hsiao, who until
...respective secretar-
...Arts Committee
...President Lin Biao
with head of Com-
...in charge.

FBI WASH FIELD

6-1-48

3:45 P.M.

DIRECTOR

WILLIAM PICKENS, TREASURY DEPT., LGE.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO FURNISH THIS OFFICE THREE PHOTOSTATIC COPIES OF
FOLLOWING PAGES FROM DAILY WORKERS: PAGE ONE APRIL SIXTEEN THIRTY
ONE; PAGE ONE APRIL TWENTY FOUR THIRTY ONE; PAGE ONE OCTOBER TWO
THIRTY THREE; PAGES ONE AND TWO OCTOBER THREE THIRTY THREE; PAGE
TWO FEBRUARY EIGHT THIRTY NINE; PAGE ONE NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN THIRTY
NINE; PAGES ONE AND TWO DECEMBER TWO NINETEEN FORTY; PAGE FIVE
DECEMBER NINETEEN NINETEEN FORTY.

821
HOTTEL 74

121 4978 16

LEG:KM

101-2190

RECORDED - 91
JAN 11 1948

SEP 7 1948

570

6-1"
LRB:CFN:jad

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: January 28, 1949

To: Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

From: Seth W. Richardson
Chairman, Loyalty Review Board
U. S. Civil Service Commission *for*

Subject: PICKENS, William
Director, Interracial Section
Treasury Department
New York, N.Y.

In accordance with your request, there is shown below the ultimate disposition made of the case of the captioned individual, who was investigated by your Bureau under the provisions of Executive Order 9835:

Employee or Appointee:

- ☒ Retained
- ☐ Removed on basis of loyalty investigation
- ☐ Resigned or otherwise separated from Federal service

Applicant:

- ☐ Accepted for employment
- ☐ Denied employment
- ☐ Withdrew from consideration

Remarks:

RECORDED - 137

58 FEB 9 1949

121-4978-17
FEB 2 1949
km

APPENDIX

WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC., (WFI), aka
World Fellowship Center

The records of the Office of Secretary of State of Illinois show that World Fellowship, Inc., (WFI) submitted Articles of Incorporation on October 13, 1936. The Annual Report of World Fellowship, Inc., dated March 5, 1959, lists WILLARD UPHAUS as Executive Director, Secretary and Acting Treasurer, 66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut. The character of the affairs which the corporation is actually conducting is listed as "occasional publications, summer conference at World Fellowship Center in New Hampshire, Executive Director, and travels to speak and organize activities for justice and peace."

On September 19, 1952 a source described the World Fellowship Center (WFC), Conway, New Hampshire, as definitely pro-Russian or pro-Communist based on the type of literature made available by WFI, the apparent total absence of real loyalty to the United States and its constitution and the absence of religious discussions as such.

WILLARD UPHAUS was sentenced to one year for contempt of court on December 14, 1959 in Merrimack County Superior Court, New Hampshire, for refusal to produce records of WFI as ordered by that court. UPHAUS was released from Merrimack County House of Correction, Boscawen, New Hampshire, on December 11, 1960. 121 1948 19

A second source advised on March 28, 1960 that plans had been announced for a building program for WFI summer camp which would represent a monument to the sacrifice WILLARD UPHAUS has made in connection with his work with WFI and his struggle with the courts resulting in his imprisonment. According to source, contributions were being solicited to the World Fellowship Building Fund for this purpose with a goal in Connecticut of \$85,000.

A third source, on May 22, 1961, provided literature of the World Fellowship, Inc., which revealed its winter headquarters to be at 65 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, and summer headquarters to be at Conway, New Hampshire. This literature also announced that the summer program of the World Fellowship Camp at Conway, New Hampshire was scheduled to commence on June 19, 1961 and would continue through September 4, 1961.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC. (continued)

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, in its edition of February 24, 1952, on page 7, stated that Dr. WILLARD UPHAUS was the co-director of the American Peace Crusade and a delegate to the Second World Peace Congress.

On December 4, 1950, an article appeared in the "Boston Traveler," a daily Boston, Massachusetts newspaper, which described the Second World Peace Congress, in part, as follows:

"The Warsaw meeting was described as an 'event of great historical significance' by the official journal of the Cominform, Russia's international communist organization. The talk of the Red-dominated Peace Congress was probably best described by the Cominform journal in these words: 'The delegates demonstrated with wrath and indignation the sanguinary aggression of the American imperialists in Korea and brazen provocations in relation to the Chinese People's Republic, the feverish militarization of Western Germany and Japan, the progressive transformation of the UN organization into an appendage of the United States State Department and the frantic armament drive.' "

A fourth source furnished information on December 16, 1960, which identified Dr. WILLARD UPHAUS as a national co-chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, according to literature of that organization.

The American Peace Crusade and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

3/18/64

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, ST. LOUIS

FROM: SAC, WFO (140-20843)(RUC)

WILLIAM PICKENS
SGE

Relet from Boston 5/12/64, a copy of which, with 2 enclosures, is attached hereto.

Captioned name not identifiable with listings in current Washington Metropolitan Area Telephone Directory or city directory.

b6
b7C

On 5/18/64 [redacted] Placement Specialist, U.S. Saving Bonds Division, Treasury Dept., advised PICKENS' service record card reflects his termination during November, 1950. Forwarding address 260 W. 139th St., NYC.

SL requested to determine if PICKENS currently employed within provisions of EO 10450. If so, will submit appropriate background information.

121 4978

2- St. Louis (Enc. 3) (AM)
1- Bureau
1- WFO

HRW/jgm
(4)

AIRTEL

64 JUN 9 1964

121-4978-

NOT RECORDED
12 MAY 19 1964

EXPL. SEC.

FBI

Date: 5/25/64

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (140-11814)-RUC-
 SUBJECT: WILLIAM PICKENS
 SGE

Re WFO airtel to St. Louis, 5/18/64. ✓

On May 22, 1964, a review of the personnel records
 Federal Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, by IC [redacted]
 [redacted], indicated PICKENS not currently employed Federal
 Government.

b6
 b7C

Records show last employment, Treasury Department,
 Office of The Secretary, U. S. Savings Bonds Division,
 Community Activities, Washington, D.C., duty at New York City,
 New York, as a Bond Sales Promotion Specialist, Director Negro
 Section, was terminated on 11/30/50, by resignation, reason
 given as desire to retire from active service.

No further investigation being conducted, no report
 being submitted, UACB.

3 - Bureau (AM)
 2 - Boston (140-0)(100-13336)(Info)(AM)
 1 - St. Louis
 JOE:er
 (6)

10 MAY 23 1964

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M Per _____

64 JUN 9 1964

4-766 (2-1-80)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
CERTIFICATION OF AUTHENTICITY

CAMERA OPERATOR

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I HAVE PHOTOGRAPHED THE
DOCUMENTS APPEARING ON THIS FICHE-FILE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES (66-19087-20)

CAMERA OPERATOR

DATE PRODUCED

7-14-82

SUPERVISOR'S AUTHORITY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I HAVE SUPERVISED THE PHOTO-
GRAPHING OF THE DOCUMENTS APPEARING ON THIS FICHE-
FILE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES
(66-19087-20).

SUPERVISOR

DATE APPROVED

7-14-82

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FEDERAL DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 06-26-2008

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b1

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

November 9, 1961

RE: WILLIAM PICKENS

b1

(C)

Reference is made to your request for advice as to whether Pickens is still alive and, if so, whether he had come to adverse security notice in recent years, dated October 27, 1961, your file number [REDACTED]

It has been recorded that William Pickens was born January 15, 1881. At this date, if he were still living, he would be eighty years of age.

The latest information available regarding William Pickens is dated in 1949. At that time he was Director of the Interracial Section of the United States Treasury Department in New York, New York.

The investigation conducted in 1948 disclosed that Pickens was considered a "joiner" who would join any organization to obtain personal publicity or to further the cause of the Negroes. However, subsequent to 1940 all indications were that Pickens was critical of communists and the Communist Party and was believed to be definitely loyal and patriotic to the United States. (21-4978)

1 - London

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

WJS:wap
(8)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

66 NOV 17 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~121 117~~

[illegible]

DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1) (S)
DATE 06-26-2008
FBI INFORMATION ONLY

b1

(C)



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

S/1855

27th October, 1961.

William PICKENS

b1

(C)

Our Head Office has sent us the following summary of their information about PICKENS:

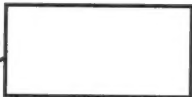
"PICKENS was described as a coloured American citizen, a one time college professor. He was said to be 57 years old in 1938. He was active in various Communist Negro organisations and a resume of his activities up to 1933 is to be found in 'The Red Network' by Elizabeth DILLING, first published by her in 1934.

"He came to our notice in the twenties and thirties through his visits to Europe when he was prominent in the League against Imperialism. He visited the United Kingdom in 1938 after a visit to Spain on behalf of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee."

We should be grateful to know, for the information of our Head Office whether PICKENS is still alive, and if so, whether he has come to adverse security notice in recent years.

b1

(C)



X-102

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b7C



(C)

b1

OCT 27 1961

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REC-96 / 21-4978-18

81 years old
still living

NOV 13 1961

121 1978